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GIOVANNI DI PAOLO

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JOHN POPE-HENNESSY
GIOVANNI DI PAOLO

1403-1483

NEW YORK
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1938

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To
Kenneth Clark

PREFACE

IN writing this volume I have had one supreme advantage, the friendship and advice of Mr. F. Mason Perkins. With the greatest generosity he has allowed me to draw on his unexampled knowledge of Sienese painting. He has brought pictures to my notice I could not otherwise have known, and offered in conversation many constructive criticisms of my conclusions. Over several points of detail we remain in disagreement, but this book as a whole owes much to Mr. Perkins's encouragement and inspiration.

I am scarcely less indebted to the practical suggestions of Mr. Kenneth Clark and Dr. Tancred Borenius, both of whom have read my manuscript and the latter the proof, and to the beneficent interest of Mrs. Berenson. Among those to whom I have applied for advice on questions of varying importance I must thank particularly Capt. Langton Douglas, Dr. Hans Gronau, Mr. Edward Hutton, Fr. Gervase Mathew, Professor Richard Offner, Mr. Philip Pouncey, Dr. Alfred Scharf, Mrs. Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà, and the late Dr. van Marle. On issues of documentation I have been assisted by that most distinguished of Sienese scholars, Professor Alessandro Lisini, and by the present director of the Archivio di Stato, Cav. Uff. Alfredo Liberati.

Many works by Giovanni di Paolo are at present in private collections in Europe and America. Every American collector to whom I applied for information and reproductions save one acceded to my request with courtesy and consideration; in the matter of photographs I am specially indebted to the liberality of Mr. Robert Lehman. Among European officials and collectors who have offered me exceptional facilities for examining their pictures I may express my gratitude to His Eminence the Prince Primate of Hungary, Conte Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi, Baron Robert von Hirsch, M. Adolphe Stoclet, Baroness de Kerchove, Dr. Irene Kunze of the Kaiser Fried-

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rich Museum, Berlin, and the authorities of the Landesmuseum, Münster-in-Westphalen. I have further benefited from access to the photographic collections of Mr. Berenson and Sir Robert Witt and from the co-operation of members of the staffs of the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, and of the Frick Art Reference Library, New York. Mr. Benedict Nicolson has helped me in checking references in the notes and bibliography.

JOHN POPE-HENNESSY

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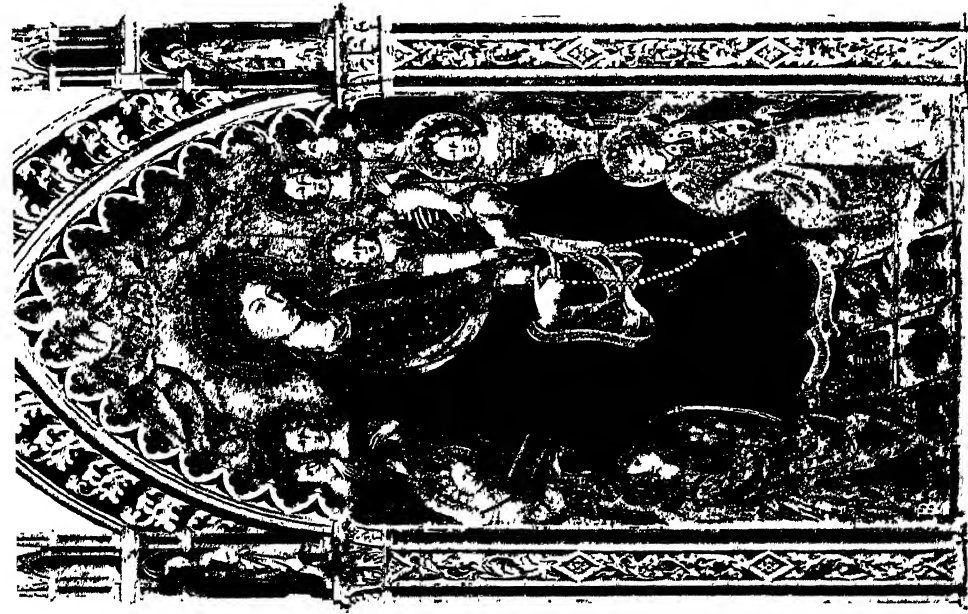
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Madonna and Child with Angels
(Propositura, Castelnuovo Berardenga)



Madonna and Child
(Baron Robert von Hirsch, Basel)

INTRODUCTION

"**L**A religione di Cristo," dictated St. Catherine of Siena from the hermitage of Frate Santi da Terni some months before her death, "è tutta larga, tutta gioconda, tutta odorifera; è uno giardino diletteissimo in sè." During two periods Siennese painting became an instrument adequate to express such spiritual exaltation. The second of those periods is the subject of this volume.

What were its antecedents? It was the achievement of the painters of the second quarter of the fifteenth century to evolve from years of visual mannerism forms through which the intimate emotions of individual devotion might again percolate. The fresh stylistic impulse of this evolution had a religious basis in the revivalism of St. Bernardino. It was supported also by a financial stimulus. Like Simone Martini, Sassetta and his contemporaries had the good fortune to be brought up in periods of prosperity; circumstances between 1408 and the Lucchese War of twenty-one years later conspired to reproduce the buoyant optimism of the first half of the fourteenth century. The visual sources on which these painters drew, however, had as their background long terms of poverty and unemployment, and we may suppose a direct equation to exist between the period of scarcity which followed the establishment in Siena of a coalition council in 1368 and the stylistic deficiencies of the painters of the day.

But if the economic decline of the later trecento impoverished the quality of painting in Siena, it did little or nothing to decrease its bulk. Indeed the tissue of influences which go to make up its aesthetic character is perhaps more closely woven than in any other years in the history of its development. The range of the styles of two of the figures of the middle century, Giacomo di Mino di Pellicciaio and Luca di

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Tommè, remains to be elucidated;¹ after fifty years of study the implications of a greater artist, Barna, are still inscrutable. All we can say is that both the dominant painters in Siena round 1400, Bartolo di Fredi and Andrea Vanni, appear to have responded in questionable degrees and in questionable sequence to their influences. But close examination seems to emphasise that it was Bartolo di Fredi and not Andrea Vanni or Giacomo di Mino or even Barna who was the main channel between the earlier and later fourteenth century. Everything most typical of these years derives from the mature Bartolo's loose, vacuous contours and from the narrative method he had been shrewd enough to turn to strictly commercial purposes. Paolo di Giovanni Fei was certainly Bartolo di Fredi's pupil and Bartolo's own son, Andrea, is known to have undergone a preliminary training in his father's studio,² a course we may well believe another painter of his generation, Martino di Bartolommeo, paralleled.

In 1410, aged eighty, Bartolo di Fredi died; in 1414, aged eighty-two, Andrea Vanni followed him to the grave. There is reason to believe that the career of Fei, then on the wrong side of sixty, was cut short at the same moment.³ Bartolo di Fredi's *œuvre* had been a crime; Fei's was a prophecy. But for all the tenderness, intensity, often originality Fei generated, we may doubt whether he was the formative force on the new century criticism has suggested. Bartolesque influences after 1410 seem to have been dispelled by the activity of two younger painters, Taddeo di Bartolo and the inchoate and sympathetic personality known to art history as the Master of the Life of Mary. We have as yet no clear conception of the latter, but the career of the former is reasonably plain. Born soon after 1360, Taddeo seems to have been a direct pupil of Giacomo di Mino and to have been endowed—how far a putative contact with Barnaba da Modena contributed to his development we cannot tell⁴—with many of the gifts Fei and Bartolo di Fredi lacked. Clumsy and often painfully unimaginative, he was first and foremost an effective church decorator. The

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two decades after 1400, therefore, see Andrea di Bartolo and Martino di Bartolommeo approximate their styles to his and a new generation grow up wholly impregnated with his influence.

* * * * *

Such was the environment into which, late in 1403,⁵ Giovanni di Paolo di Grazia was born.

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volti" signed by Giovanni di Paolo and dated 1426. It contained in the lateral panels SS. John, Paul, Laurence and Dominic, and in the predella scenes from the Passion, "un Crocifisso, un Cristo che porta la croce, ed un sepolcro di Cristo." The earlier *Guida di Siena* of 1625,⁶ however, assures us that the altarpiece of the Cappella dei Malevolti was at that date a polyptych painted by Andrea di Bartolo in 1397. But a picture similar to that described by Ugurgieri is mentioned in the inventory of Bossio⁷—"icona Beatae Mariae Virginis S. Joannis Baptistae et aliorum sanctorum in tabulis depictis"—on an altar next to the Malevolti altar, that of the Pecci family. A probable inference is that Ugurgieri mistook the altar which the picture occupied, and that when he saw it it was where it stood subsequently, on the Pecci altar. We may thus assume the picture seen by Ugurgieri to have been that also seen by Bossio.

Remains of the lateral panels may be traced in two Taddesque figures, a resilient, blue-clad *Baptist* and a *St. Dominic*, in the Accademia in Siena,⁸ each rather more than half as wide as the *Madonna* and between 43 and 46 cm. shorter. The form of the haloes, which show the name of each saint inscribed inside a number of concentric circles and surrounded by radiating lines, is repeated in the central panel. The two panels in Siena formed the left side of the polyptych; on the right side would have stood SS. Laurence and Paul. Neither of the right-hand panels can be traced. But we can calculate that with them the total width of the polyptych would have been 2.59 m.

From these facts the conditions which any predella would have fulfilled become clear. It would have consisted probably of five compartments and its total length would have approximated to the total width of the upper panels. Brandi correctly identifies four of these compartments with four panels showing *The Resurrection of Lazarus* (Plate II A), *The Way to Golgotha*, *The Deposition*, and *The Entombment* in the Walters Collection, Baltimore.⁹ The central panel of this pre-

II The Raising of Lazarus
(*Walters Art Gallery,
Baltimore*)



The Flight into Egypt
(*Accademia, Siena*)



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della is a *Crucifixion* in the Lindenau Museum, Altenburg.¹⁰ The *Crucifixion* is 12 cm. wider than the other panels, and the total length of the predella, therefore, with an allowance of a band of 5 cm. between each panel would have been 2.52 m. There is little need to demonstrate at length that chronologically these panels can be placed in no later period. The figure and type of the Christ in the *Crucifixion* develop from the elongated Simonesque model current in the late Trecento; from this model, as we shall see, Giovanni di Paolo soon departed. Similarly the Magdalen clutching the Cross is a convention from which Giovanni later was emancipated, while two riding figures on the extreme left of the group look back quite clearly to Fei. The hands of the Virgin and of the women in the group on the left with their long fingers and spatulate tips could scarcely be produced by exaggeration of the characteristics of Giovanni di Paolo's mature work; on the other hand they might easily have resulted from inexperienced imitation of Fei's mannerisms. The types of the Walters panels point in the same direction.

It would be interesting to trace the exact sources of the schemes of these five panels. We have no record of them. The *Christ carrying the Cross* and *The Resurrection of Lazarus* are characterised by Brandi as derivatives from Barna and the *Deposition* and *Entombment* as reminiscent of Pietro Lorenzetti and Simone Martini respectively. But though such analyses have a certain value it must be remembered that the derivation took place at second or third hand and that the immediate models from which Giovanni worked would have consisted almost certainly of traditional designs filtered through the mind of some crude pupil of Bartolo di Fredi, possibly of Fei himself. That the mind which influenced Giovanni in these panels was Fei's own is suggested very strongly by analogies between the figure of St. John in this *Crucifixion* and a similar figure in a diptych by Fei in the Siena Accademia (No. 146).

The last documentary reference to Paolo di Giovanni Fei occurs in the year 1410, when Giovanni di Paolo was seven years old. We

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1426-1445 do not know when he died. But literary evidence in regard to his career is so prolific that we have every justification in supposing its cessation to imply the cessation of his activity. It is not therefore admissible to suppose that Fei was Giovanni di Paolo's first master.¹¹ Such contacts with him, as we shall find throughout Giovanni's early work, seem to have been the result of a study of Fei's work, not of the direct influence of Fei himself. It was from Taddeo di Bartolo Giovanni di Paolo learned his trade. But when we first meet him, he is no half-fledged student. If we compare the Castelnovo picture with any of Taddeo's large *Madonnas*, we see that though the general schematic arrangement is his and that though some of the details are evident derivatives, it represents in spirit a radical departure from his work. The conception is less hieratic, the colour lighter, the line more buoyant and rhythmical, the detail naturalistic. How are we to explain these changes?

Taddeo di Bartolo had died in 1422. Three years later there irrupted on to the stage he had vacated the most vital of contemporary influences. Gentile da Fabriano seems to have been in Siena during part of 1425 and part of 1426, engaged on the commission for a picture known as the *Madonna dei Notai*. There is a tradition that at this time Giovanni di Paolo was his assistant; "non voglio," writes Mancini,¹² "tralasciare che con lo stare egli in Siena diede occasione ad alcuni, chi già eran pittori, con l'emulatione e col veder le sue opere di perfetionarsi quel più, et ad altri di seguitar affatto la sua maniera, come fece Paulo da Siena, che nella maniera di Gentile dipinse nella chiesa di San Domenico di detta città due o tre altare molto diligentemente condotti, come si vede dal suo nome ivi scritto."

The *Madonna dei Notai* was presumably completed before Gentile left Siena. It was certainly on exhibition at the beginning of October 1426.¹³ Supposing Mancini's account to be correct, Giovanni di Paolo would thus, when he painted the Pecci *Madonna*, have had the aroma of Gentile's style still fresh about him.

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But it expressed itself, it seems, in generalities, in desire rather than in fulfilment. Brandi falls into the fundamental error of denying the picture all traces of Gentile's influence. We know little of the character of the *Madonna dei Notai*. We cannot, for example, tell whether the predella of the picture contained landscape scenes; indeed such evidence as we have seems to show that it did not. It is not therefore arguable that because the landscape of Giovanni di Paolo's *Lazarus* fails to show the characteristics of other landscapes by Gentile, Giovanni di Paolo could not have worked as his disciple.¹⁴ Still less is it curious that Giovanni did not take over the methods of stamping and gilding Gentile had developed. His brocade technique, in Brandi's admirable description, was a "volgarizzazione della tecnica martiniana." Why should an inheritor of the pure Simonesque tradition adopt a less effective substitute for the technique painters around him used? It is lacking in historical perspective to suppose that Giovanni di Paolo would in a moment have begun to paint the kind of picture Taddeo di Bartolo painted in quite a different way. And why lastly should we be surprised that the flowers and foliage which Giovanni di Paolo conceived as being stamped on tiles at the bottom of his picture are less free and fluid than the independent flowers and foliage which occur throughout Gentile's work? Where the craft basis of painting was emphasised as it was in quattrocento Italy, we cannot expect to find a sudden adaptation of technique to a new aesthetic urge. The normal instinct was that of reconciling such an aesthetic urge to an existing mode of manufacture. It was precisely this that Giovanni di Paolo in the Pecci *Madonna* attempted. To understand aright the significance of the picture it should be contrasted with Taddesque and not Gentilesque work. The voice of the young century penetrates the archaisms of its ornament.

We may suppose that the Pecci polyptych pleased the ecclesiastical authorities. At all events in the following year Giovanni di Paolo painted a second large altarpiece for S. Domenico, this time for an

1426-1445 altar on the opposite side of the church, that of the Branchini family. On the date of this polyptych, 1427, all sources show unanimity.¹⁵ Tizio notes under that year: "Hac tempestate Johannes Pauli pictor senensis egregius floruit, pictura tabulae secundae capellae in Ecclesia Sancti Dominici a sinistris introheuntibus hoc testatur."¹⁶ We know that the Branchini altar was dedicated to St. Christopher who appeared among the four lateral saints of the polyptych.¹⁷ Neither the side panels nor the predella survive, but in the collection of Baron Robert von Hirsch at Basel the central panel is to be found (Plate I B).¹⁸ It shows a large Madonna of Humility without accompanying angels surrounded by cherub's wings and surmounted by a small Christ in benediction. In the Virgin's halo is the inscription: "Hic qui te pinxit protege virgo virum," and along the base of the frame runs the signature: JOHANNES SENENSIS PAULI FILIUS PINXIT MCCCCXXVII. No description can do justice to the freshness and beauty of the panel. Into the colouristic magnificence of the late Trecento, the crimson cherub's wings, the gold brocades, the blue and ermine of the Virgin's cloak, there has penetrated a new intimacy. In no indigenous picture painted in Siena for three-quarters of a century had the visual and emotional relation between the figures of the Virgin and the Child been so effortlessly and sensitively established. Indeed when we recall that only a year had elapsed between the painting of the Castelnovo *Madonna* and the completion of this masterpiece, we may begin to wonder whether the Hirsch *Madonna* was not in fact based very closely on the lost *Madonna dei Notai* of Gentile.¹⁹ The Virgin's face is wider and her long thin nose more finely modelled. Her collar is incidented and the Child stretches up towards her neck with a gesture of affection such as Gentile, or in Florence Masolino, might well have invented. It is difficult to believe that any Sienese painter, faced with contemporary models, could have evolved alone, had he twice the genius of the young Giovanni, a composition so flawless.

The technique of the Pecci *Madonna* goes to prove that Giovanni di



Christ Suffering and Christ Triumphant
(*Accademia, Siena*)

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Paolo had not studied with Gentile da Fabriano prior to Gentile's visit to Siena, the Branchini *Madonna* that he remained on in his native town after Gentile's departure. The direct contact between the two artists would thus have lasted for a period of rather less than a year. We can understand easily enough that Giovanni had no wish to leave Siena. There it was to youth that the future belonged, and at the very time that Giovanni was occupied on his two polyptychs, a new, original and vernacular talent was making itself felt. In 1426 Sassetta completed his altarpiece for the chapel of the Arte della Lana and in 1427 he was engaged on adapting Jacopo della Quercia's design for the Baptismal Font in S. Giovanni in a drawing which was to be coloured by his young and promising assistant, Sano di Pietro. A decade later these early successes had been consolidated; Sassetta himself was working on a triptych for the Osservanza, one of his pupils, Pietro di Giovanni, was embarking on a polyptych for S. Agostino at Asciano, and Giovanni di Paolo, who could scarcely fail to have been attracted to his exquisite orbit, was undertaking a commission from the Fondi family for a polyptych on their altar in the church of S. Francesco. 1426-1445

We have two main sources for this picture, Ugurgieri²⁰ and Bossio's *Inventary*.²¹ Della Valle²² transcribes exactly Ugurgieri's words: ". . . e nella chiesa di San Francesco di Siena fece una tavola l'anno 1436, ove è una Madonna con altri santi, e nella predella dipinse alcuni quadretti della Natività, de' Magi, e della Crocifissione, fraposti per ornamento, frutti, a frondi naturalissimi." Bossio's account is more general: "Icona erat cum figura Beatae Mariae Virginis et aliorum sanctorum in tabula ornata." We know two more relevant facts, that the Fondi altar was dedicated to St. James, and that the church of San Francesco, and therefore probably this polyptych, was seriously damaged by fire in 1655. So far only can we move with certainty. But we may postulate two possible deductions with regard to the saints in the lateral panels, firstly that one of them, that immediately beside the Virgin and Child, might have shown St.

1426-1445 James,²³ and secondly that one of the figures at the extreme end to right or left would perhaps have been St. Francis. The second of these hypotheses leads us to examine with attention a large Sassettesque panel by Giovanni di Paolo in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, showing *St. Francis* and a bearded *St. Matthew* (Plate V).²⁴ The names of both figures are inscribed in their haloes and the frame at the top of the panel is in each case original. What more surprising than to find the haloes, the frame and the relation of the one to the other (all of an unusual type), in precise agreement with the tooled halo and fragmentary frame of a half-length of *The Virgin and Child* in a tabernacle in the Via delle Terme, Siena, already recognised by Perkins²⁵ as the remnant of an extensive altarpiece (Plate IVB). We know on the analogy of other pictures (Fei's *Madonna del Rosario* in the church of S. Domenico is a cardinal instance) that the ordinary practice when a picture had been burnt was to cut out the uninjured portion and put it in a tabernacle—to be studded in most cases with the offerings of a credulous public. We may assume that this Madonna had been damaged, and damaged by fire. The left panel of the polyptych, showing SS. *John Baptist and Ursula*, confirms that opinion; it is now in the possession of D. Kelekian (Plate IVA).²⁶ The lower part of the original panel—the whole area below the knees of the two saints—was cut off, perhaps immediately after the fire. What was left has since been cut again down the middle to make two separate panels, the shape of the top of each panel has been changed and they have been supplied with a modern frame. The tooling, however, is in both cases identical with that of the two panels previously discussed.

Stylistically the three panels show a singular unanimity. The silken hair of the Virgin is painted with the same thin strokes as the beard of the New York *Saint*. The right hand of the St. Francis may be compared with that of the Kelekian *St. Ursula*, and the folds of the robes of both New York saints with those of the cloak of the Kelekian *Baptist*. All the panels are in a general sense profoundly Sassettesque,

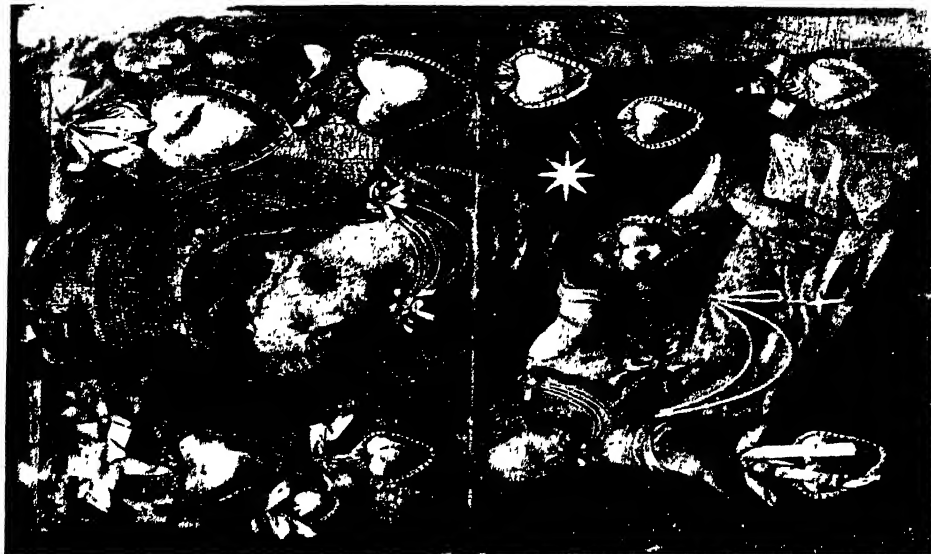
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but it is important to emphasise that the Sassetta from whom they derive was the painter neither of the porcelain contours of the 'twenties nor of the late St. Francis altarpiece. If we examine them closely, the formal mannerisms of our polyptych—the Virgin's pencilled eyebrows and receding lower lip, her shaded cheek, the line of her throat and the prominent ears of the SS. Ursula and Francis—find their closest parallel in two small pictures executed by Sassetta at about the date he began work on the Osservanza triptych, a *Madonna with two Angels* in the collection of Miss Frick, and an earlier *Madonna* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 63B). We are thus faced with three coincidences pointing to a single conclusion. We have reassembled a polyptych which was damaged by fire. That polyptych was probably commissioned for a Franciscan church, and seems on independent grounds to have been painted about the year 1436. Given the facts previously ascertained, that in 1436 Giovanni completed for S. Francesco a polyptych which is thought to have been burnt, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that that polyptych and our altarpiece are one and the same picture.

De Nicola²⁷ identified three panels in the Siena Accademia, (Nos. 174, 175, 176) *The Presentation of Mary in the Temple*, *The Crucifixion*, and *The Flight into Egypt* (Plate IIb), as forming part of the predella of this Fondi altarpiece. They fulfil one condition of Ugurgieri's description. The ebullient foliage separating one panel from the next is specially conspicuous. But with the second and more important condition, they do not comply. The fronds of foliage seem to have been restricted to the sides of the central panel, *The Crucifixion*, and the inner edges of the two panels contiguous to it. The outer edges of the two outer panels show not naturalistic fruit, but an elaborate gold stamped hieroglyphic design, and the panels must therefore always have stood in their present order. If that is so, two of the scenes which Ugurgieri mentions, *The Nativity* and *The Adoration of the Magi*, can never have appeared in the predella at all, because they would have

1426-1445 intervened between *The Presentation* and *The Crucifixion*, which can only have stood side by side. We may both reject the theory that this predella fragment formed part of the Fondi altarpiece, and at the same time absolve ourselves from the trouble of looking for a substitute. The upper panels show us that the fire affected two-thirds of the polyptych; the lower part of the left wing and probably quite half of the *Madonna and Child* suffered extensive damage. If then the fire caught from the bottom, as in the nature of things it would do, it is extremely unlikely that it spared the predella, which would have been one of the first parts of the picture to burn. It remains just conceivable that the extreme right-hand panel may have survived, but the strong probability is that in the ruthless reconstruction after the fire the less damaged fragments of the predella were scrapped along with parts which had been burnt outright.²⁸

The year 1440 leads us from enchanting surmise to prosaic fact. A large *Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John* in the Siena Accademia (Plate VI B) is inscribed: HOC OPUS JOHANNIS PAULI DE SENIS PINXIT MCCCCXXXX.²⁹ There is a trustworthy tradition that the picture was painted for the Osservanza. Della Valle³⁰ saw it there in the lower cloister: "Un Cristo morto in croce con Maria santissima, la Maddalena e S. Giovanni, figure tutte al naturale; due angioletti che stanno librati sull'ali dai lati del Redentore squarciandosi uno di essi le veste, e l'altro tenendo in qual modo tese, e incorcicchiate le mani, nel quale esprime si meglio il dolore, attestano il loro cordoglio in vista di così funesto spettacolo, e formano la composizione, e il soggetto di questa tavola." The probability is that this *Crucifixion* formed the central panel of a polyptych which had been dismembered and removed from the church by the time Della Valle saw it. We can understand well enough how the strained tormented emotion of the picture must have surprised him. It is ugly, muddled and theatrical. The faces of the four figures are dramatically lit. The Virgin's hair hangs tangled down the right side of her face, the Magdalen clutches feverishly at the



Madonna and Child
(*Via delle Terme, Siena*)



St. Ursula and St. John Baptist
(*D. Kelekian, Paris*)

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Cross, and the St. John throws back his pink cloak in an attitude of desperation. But this lamentable failure explains itself readily enough. If it be not sacrilege to compare a bad picture with a good one, we might parallel its place in Giovanni's career with that of *The Entombment* in Raphael's. Sassetta's style, like Perugino's, was too static to be well adapted to the expression either of motion or emotion. Faced with an episode actuated by vehement feeling, the Sassettesque Giovanni di Paolo, like the Peruginesque Raphael, became forced and unreal. It is in details—the fingers of the Virgin or the drawing of the head of the St. John—that we can best detect the kinship between the painter of this picture and that of the polyptych of four years earlier. 1426-1445

The year 1440 for Giovanni di Paolo was a busy one. On the fifteenth of March he received payment for an altarpiece for the chapel of the Infirmary of the Ospedale della Scala and some unpublished entries in the Libri Conticorrenti of the hospital reveal that he was engaged in other unspecified work for the same institution continuously until 1442.³¹ But the felicitous harmonies of the polyptych of 1436 were not, it seems, destined to reassert themselves. If mere adherence to iconographical convention could make a great picture, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, which Giovanni completed five years after the *Osservanza Crucifixion* for the high altar of the Church of S. Andrea, should have been a masterpiece.³² The subject may have been suggested by the fresco Domenico di Bartolo and Sano di Pietro were painting at about this time in the Sala di Biccherna in the Palazzo Pubblico. Domenico di Bartolo's design was influenced by the *Coronation* Lorenzo Monaco had painted for S. Maria degli Angeli in Florence,³³ but though Giovanni di Paolo doubtless had access to the unfinished fresco before he began his altarpiece, his own scheme was not modified in the light of Domenico's, unless indeed, as is quite possible, Sano di Pietro in the process of executing Domenico's ideas weakened and formularised them to an unrecognisable degree. The condition of Giovanni's picture is unfortunate; at the beginning of this century it

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1426-1445 was dismembered in three panels in the sacristy³⁴ and it has since been extensively restored. Christ and the Virgin are seated on a throne raised on an ornamented stone step. The throne and step are covered with an elaborately patterned white and gold material which is repeated as a curtain behind. On the seat are two gold cushions which meet in the centre of the panel. The Virgin's head, over which the red and green clad Christ holds a jewelled crown, is covered by a striped silk veil. Her white and gold robe trails forward on the step and her hands are folded on her breast in a gesture of humility. To right and left St. Andrew and St. Peter survey the scene with an impassivity which is counteracted by the spontaneous curiosity of angels peering over the curtain at the back. At the bottom two kneeling angels, placed in each case at the inner extremity of the lateral panel, lean towards the centre of the picture, the harp held by that on the right cutting slightly into the silhouette of the Christ's robe. Beautiful as the picture is, we may perhaps regret that we have no version of the subject dating from Giovanni di Paolo's most purely Sassettesque years. By 1445 the linearism and chromaticism he had derived from Sassetta had perceptibly decreased to be replaced by heavier forms and subtler psychology. We may even speculate whether the figures of the lateral saints in this altarpiece do not in a general way owe something to the example of Domenico di Bartolo, to whose following another imitator of Sassetta, Sano, had, as we have seen, attached himself. The question must remain surmise. An alternative source for what we may call the Florentinising tendency of the drapery of the St. Peter is suggested by another picture Giovanni di Paolo painted at this time.

The year of the S. Andrea *Coronation* saw the production of a second altarpiece, the dated *Madonna and Child with SS. Dominic, Peter, Paul and Thomas Aquinas* in the Uffizi (Plate VIIA).³⁵ Signed OPUS JOHANNIS PAULI DE SENIS MCCCCXLV it was acquired by the gallery in 1904 without any record of its provenance. It is tempting to identify this picture with the third of the altarpieces which



St. Matthew and St. Francis
(*Metropolitan Museum, New York*)

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Giovanni di Paolo painted for San Domenico. The information that has come down to us about the Guelfi polyptych is scanty and confused, but the essential facts are these. Ugurgieri³⁶ closes his description of the three pictures by Giovanni di Paolo in San Domenico with the sentence: "E la terza fece nella Cappella de' Guelfi, che era accanto a quella di Colombini l'anno 1445, nella quale à dipinta la Beatissima Vergine con alquanti santi, e nella predella vi è dipinto il giudizio finale, il diluvio e la creazione del mondo (cose bellissime); e perchè questa cappella ancora fu rovinata, la tavola fu parimente trasportata nel refettorio del convento. (Per diligenza che io abbia usato, non mi riuscì ritrovare queste tavole)." The picture was moved to the refectory probably in 1628. Ugurgieri's date would be as acceptable as his description were it not for the conflicting evidence of the *Guida di Siena* of 1625, an older and normally a more accurate source, which gives the date of the Guelfi polyptych as 1426. One critic, Brandi,³⁷ accepts implicitly the date given in the *Guida*, citing as confirmatory evidence the fact that yet another source, Tizio, mentions under the year 1445 only a picture painted by Sano di Pietro for the Gesuati. But in the case of sources whose positive evidence is of such uncertain value as those for Sienese painting, the negative implications of their omissions can scarcely be accorded serious consideration. The vital point is that Tizio not only fails to mention the picture under the year 1445 but fails to mention it at all. Moreover the testimony of the *Guida* is not always impeccable. Where, for example, as regards the actual placing of the Guelfi altar itself, the *Guida* of 1625 conflicts with Bossio's *Visita Pastorale* of 1575, it is the *Guida* that is mistaken.³⁸ It is therefore very much more likely that the author of the *Guida*, who was capable of thinking that the Guelfi polyptych stood on a different altar to that on which in fact it was, assimilated its date to one he must have seen inscribed upon the Pecci polyptych, than that Ugurgieri, who confesses never to have seen the picture but whose information from its detail must have been culled from a reliable source, should wantonly

1426-1445

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1426-1445 have invented a date which had no connection whatever with any work which Giovanni di Paolo had done in the church. A secondary consideration is the improbability of San Domenico being supplied with three large altarpieces by a twenty-three-year-old novice inside a period of two years.

Once we accept the date 1445 for the Guelfi polyptych as the fact it seems to be, the claims presented by the Uffizi picture become too strong to be resisted. The picture was painted for a Dominican church, probably S. Domenico. It is unlikely in the extreme that S. Domenico contained yet a fourth altarpiece by Giovanni di Paolo, since no record of it has survived. What therefore is more probable—and in default of the discovery of a textual description of the original altarpiece it must remain a probability—than that the polyptych in the Uffizi is the very picture which was designed by Giovanni di Paolo for the Guelfi altar in S. Domenico?

The head of the Virgin in the central panel of this altarpiece resembles that in *The Coronation of the Virgin* so closely that we may regard the heavy contour of the face, the modelled but brightly lit nose, the hard, rather unsympathetic lines of the eyes, and the naturalistic, jointed fingers as some of Giovanni di Paolo's leading characteristics at this moment. The Virgin wears a dark blue cloak lined with pink over a bronze dress, itself lined with buff and edged with punched gold. The dress proper comes forward in an elaborate sweep to the front edge of the picture. The collars of the angels, who to right and left support the Virgin, are edged with lozenge-shaped punch work, such as is frequent in Sassetta. The short-haired Child, held in a gold cloth and wearing a diaphanous white dress, beneath which His body is carefully indicated, looks downwards at a flower the Virgin offers Him. Apart from the supernumerary folds of the Virgin's dress below the throne, there is comparatively little in the panel which is specifically Gothic. The four side-panels emphasise even more effectively than those of the S. Andrea picture how far Giovanni di Paolo, as



The Crucifixion (Graf A. Lanckoronski, Vienna)



The Crucifixion (Accademia, Siena)

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Sassetta's influence over him diminished, tended to confine the scheme of each figure inside its own panel to a single unmodified upright. Stylistically there is a world of difference between the rigid lines of the Guelfi St. Paul and the fluid curves of the Fondi St. Matthew. The course of the change is to some extent elucidated by a further problem with which we have to deal. 1426-1445

For many years the predella described by Ugurgieri was thought to be identical with Giovanni di Paolo's most popular work, *The Last Judgement, Paradise and Hell* in the Siena Accademia (No. 172). We know nothing of the history of this picture prior to its appearance in the collection of the Abbate Ciaccheri as a work of Ambrogio Lorenzetti; it was first identified as the predella of Ugurgieri's description by the author of the gallery catalogue of 1860.³⁹ The identification was accepted by Jacobsen,⁴⁰ who made a wild shot at identifying the Guelfi altarpiece with the considerably later polyptych in the same gallery (No. 191), and by Van Marle.⁴¹ On the other hand it was rejected by Brandi⁴² on the supposition that the altarpiece dated from 1426, a period manifestly earlier than that of this predella. The acceptance of the date 1445 for the altarpiece, however, does nothing at all to substantiate the claims of this *Last Judgement* to be the predella of this polyptych. The panel fails to conform to Ugurgieri's description and is still too late in date. If we rely on Ugurgieri so far as to credit his evidence on date against that of the *Guida*, it is a corollary that we must trust the accuracy of the description he gives of the altarpiece. The Siena panel contains no *Creation* and no *Flood*. It is already so long⁴³ that we can discount the possibility of the scenes having appeared at each end in subsidiary panels, while the scenes themselves would be so unmistakable and of such rare occurrence that Ugurgieri could scarcely have read them into the predella we see today. The correct date of the picture, as we shall attempt to prove in a later chapter, is *c.* 1465. The way in which Ugurgieri refers to the Guelfi predella hints that it was composed not of one large panel, but

1426-1445 of a number of small ones. At least one of them has survived, a *Paradiso* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Plate VIII A).⁴⁴ It is scarcely necessary to prove that this panel was painted considerably earlier than the Siena *Last Judgement*. The brighter colours are closer to other predella panels of the period and the types in a number of cases are pronouncedly Gentilesque⁴⁵ (they show comparatively little of the Sassettesque influence Breck has detected in them). Described incorrectly by Venturi⁴⁶ as the left wing of a triptych, it formed probably the second panel from the end on the left side of the Guelfi predella, which would thus have consisted of five panels, *The Creation, Paradise, The Last Judgement, Hell* and *The Flood*. On the analogy of Giovanni di Paolo's own later version, it is likely that the central panel, which had to represent Christ in judgement with six apostles seated on each side, would have been rather larger than the panel in New York, while the panel of *Hell* on the right side would have been the same size as the *Paradiso*. In that case, given the width of the Uffizi polyptych and given Ugurgieri's description of the predella, the end panels of the *Creation* and *Flood* must also have been wider than the *Paradiso*. This supports an identification of the extreme left-hand panel of the predella with the so-called *Expulsion from Paradise* in the Lehman Collection, New York (Plate VIII B).⁴⁷

Looking to-day at this extraordinarily brilliant panel, it is easy enough to understand that it was the Mappamondo on the left side that impressed contemporaries rather than the Expulsion on the right. To its vitality as an objectification of cosmic matter, mystically in motion and mystically controlled, Petrucci⁴⁸ has alone done justice: "Al mappamondo pisano manca le virtù del moto, in quello di Giovanni di Paolo c'è la semplice finzione pittorica di quel moto che Dante con insistenza descrive, perchè il moto è vita." We can see that not only might the picture have been mistaken for *The Creation*, but that *The Creation* is the nearest approximation of modern terminology for what it does represent. Further, as the predella is described, we are con-



(a)

- (a) Madonna and Child
(*Uffizi, Florence*).
- (b) Madonna and Child
(*Municipio, Castiglione
Fiorentino*).



(b)

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scious of a certain irrelevancy in the appearance of *The Flood* in the extreme right-hand panel. If the left-hand panel had included *The Expulsion*, that sense of irrelevancy would not exist. The scene is required to rationalise the conception, which would thus embrace the Creation of the World, the immediate result of the first sin, the most serious of the secondary effects of the fall of Adam, the Flood, and the eventual situation which it called into being, the day of judgement. 1426-1445

Stylistically the two panels are exactly contemporary.⁴⁹ The head of the Adam is virtually a replica of the head of an angel in the extreme left of the second row of the *Paradiso*. The head of the Archangel is almost the same as that of an angel in the centre of the Metropolitan picture. Both agree with the type of an annunciatory angel on a gabella cover of the year 1445 in the Vatican Gallery (discussed in Appendix A). Still more striking are the resemblances between the foliage of the panels. The colour throughout is rich and brilliant. The deep green trees are supported by writhing stems. The ground throws up lilies, pinks and red ranunculus, through which a hind walks and rabbits gambol. Both scenes are infused with a naïve gaiety as engaging as it is rare.

What in the case of the upper panels of this polyptych was mere speculation becomes in the case of the lower panels certainty. They prove that at some date after 1436, when, still in the full current of Sassetta's style, he had completed the Fondi polyptych Giovanni di Paolo was in Florence. Internal evidence goes to show that the New York *Paradiso* can only have been an imitation, and a fairly faithful imitation, of a similar picture by Fra Angelico. But from what picture by Fra Angelico was it copied? The Frate or his immediate pupils treated the subject five times, once (probably between 1425 and 1435) for the Camaldolese monastery of S. Maria degli Angeli, once in a panel in Berlin datable between 1445 and 1450, once on a door panel of the sacristy chest for the SS. Annunziata, c. 1448-50, again in the central panel of a triptych in the Galleria Nazionale,

1426-1445 Rome, and finally in the large Berlin *Last Judgement*. Now if we compare both Giovanni di Paolo's versions of the subject with these five of Fra Angelico's it is extremely surprising how few the points of contact are. The only indisputable analogies are those between a kneeling Camaldolese monk talking to an angel in the left-hand part of the S. Maria degli Angeli picture and rather similar figures to the left of the Siena predella, and between the angel who embraces a kneeling Dominican in the left bottom corner of the central panel of the Berlin picture and identical figures in the centre of the Siena *Paradiso*. No immediate connection is apparent between the New York panel and any of Fra Angelico's extant *Paradisi*. Yet in general feeling it is so close to the S. Maria degli Angeli predella that we may well call it impregnated with Fra Angelico's style. This fact in combination with the point to which we have referred above (that two details of the Siena predella seem to derive from two different sources in Fra Angelico's work) suggests that when Giovanni di Paolo painted the Guelfi predella of 1445 he was imitating a lost *Last Judgement* of Fra Angelico (of about the period of the S. Maria degli Angeli picture), in which some of the motifs of the New York panel as well as the two details we have noticed as recurring elsewhere in Fra Angelico's own work would have originated. Among these motifs might well have been the group of two Dominican nuns which appears in the foreground of the New York picture and in the background of that at Siena, as well as the figures of two men with their heads covered, which, though their postures are not repeated exactly, are common to the backgrounds of both.

But Florence round 1440 held other painters practising styles Giovanni was less well suited to digest than Fra Angelico's. Uccello was established in the Via della Scala and Domenico Veneziano had started frescoing the choir of S. Egidio in the hospital of S. Maria Nuova. Which of the facets of this brave new world impressed themselves most forcibly on Giovanni's mind we may know no more than we may

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know the year in which it opened itself out in front of him. But with 1426-1445 the Guelfi polyptych and the S. Andrea *Coronation* before us, we may guess his reaction to have been the merely negative sense that Gothic was out of date rather than a positive determination to replace it with a new, constructive style. Giovanni di Paolo's visit to Florence certainly occurred after 1436 (the chastity of the Fondi altarpiece is uncontaminated by alien elements) and perhaps before 1440, when it may not be overfanciful to imagine the Osservanza *Crucifixion* inspired by the bewildered aspirations, which were the motivating force in Giovanni's divagation from Sassetta. Under Florentine influence he substituted an ideal of solidity for one of grace.

* * * * *

The outline of Giovanni di Paolo's early career which an analysis of his dated paintings enables us to put forward is complemented and corroborated by his undated work. Two panels dispute the honour of being his earliest extant painting. One of them, a *Venus and the three Graces* of 1421 in the Louvre, in which Millard Meiss⁵⁰ descried the style of Fei, may be disregarded. But the other, a small *Crucifixion* in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo,⁵¹ Siena, makes a more serious claim on our attention. Van Marle⁵² considered the picture "the creation of a pupil of Fei's working more or less in Giovanni di Paolo's manner." The panel, however, is manifestly the work of a pupil not of Fei but of Taddeo di Bartolo, painting perhaps c. 1420 before Taddeo's own death. At a number of points it shows itself connected with the central panel of the predella of the Pecci polyptych, and though it is quite possible, as Brandi believes,⁵³ that Giovanni di Paolo merely drew from it the iconographical basis of his later panel, morphological resemblances (between the bowed head of the mounted soldier on the right of the good thief in the one and that of the soldier on the right of the other, between the head of the Siena St. John and that of the Altenburg Magdalen) make it still more probable that the picture was painted under Taddeo di Bartolo's guidance and possibly

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1426-1445 for one of his own polyptychs⁵⁴ at a very early point in Giovanni's development.

Altarpieces he had certainly painted before that of 1426 for S. Domenico. A large triptych, showing *The Madonna and Child with four Saints*, existing early in this century in the Phayre Ryall collection, was identified as an early work by Giovanni di Paolo by Langton Douglas,⁵⁵ who noted that the lateral panels were faithful reproductions of the wings of Fei's *Nativity of the Virgin*. This picture cannot now be traced. But a *Head of an Angel*, seen full-face, a garland of pink and white lilies in his hair and clad in a pink, gold-edged dress, the fragment of a rather earlier *Madonna* than that at Castelnovo, survives in the Lederer collection, Vienna.⁵⁶

Three larger Feiesque panels seem to date from the years between 1426 and 1430. The most important of them, a *Christ suffering and Christ triumphant* (Plate III), came to the Siena Accademia from the church of S. Niccolò al Carmine.⁵⁷ But it can scarcely have been an independent unit. The motive actuating the conception was probably less the wish to demonstrate the physical facts of Christ judged and in judgement than to objectify the intangible diophysitism of Catholic dogma. On the left stands Christ as Man, stripped, wearing His crown of thorns and carrying His cross; to the right the same figure supported on the feathery red wings of two trumpeting cherubs and wearing an imperial purple cloak sits in glory, while below Him in two holes in the ground are seen the blessed and the damned separated by a small figure of the archangel Michael. The picture may well be regarded as a response to the demand for visual equivalents of doctrinal truths, which evoked the Opera del Duomo *Credo*. The cruciform haloes of the Christs are similar to that worn by the Child in the Castelnovo *Madonna*. But a comparison of the small St. Michael with the horsemen of the Altenburg *Crucifixion* reveals a superior draughtsmanship which compels us to place this picture at a rather later date. Nor if we do so need the Feiesque qualities of the heads

VIII Paradise (*Metropolitan
Museum, New York*)



The Creation of the
World (*Mr. Philip
Lehman, New York*)



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be considered an anomaly. The general influence which Taddeo di Bartolo exerted over Giovanni di Paolo was modified by contact with one of Gentile da Fabriano's *Madonnas* and by a profound admiration for certain of Fei's types, rather than by Gentilesque and Feiesque phases. It would, therefore, be inadmissible to confine any panel which shows traces of Fei to a supposedly Feiesque period prior to the Taddesque phase of the Pecci altarpiece, and though in the case of a half-length *St. James*⁵⁸ in the Siena Accademia both the colouring (the saint wears a dull mustard-coloured cloak lined in blue) and the forms (the definition of the right line of the nose and lower eyelid in green, the heavy nostrils, the querulous mouth, the long hand and unarticulated fingers) are Fei's, the panel must certainly be placed later than the Branchini altarpiece. A pinnacle of *Christ bestowing a Blessing* in S. Pietro alla Scala⁵⁹ is heavily restored but of much the same date.

In a *Madonna della Misericordia*,⁶⁰ painted for the church of the Servi, the voice of Sassetta is, for the first time, audible through this discordant counterpoint. The scheme of the picture imitates fairly closely that laid down by Lippo Memmi at Orvieto.⁶¹ The Virgin's red dress is ornamented with gold strips containing embroidered figures of saints on a gold ground, which recall a priest's chasuble. The type of her head is near Taddeo's, the heads of the suppliants to either side are very similar to heads in the Baltimore predella, and the head of Christ in the centre of the Virgin's robe resembles the Siena *Christ Triumphant*. The influence of Sassetta is most clearly perceptible in the five full-lengths of prophets decorating its front and sleeves; on the basis of his previous form it is inconceivable that Giovanni evolved these beautiful and sensitive figures without reference to his great contemporary. This might suggest that the picture should be regarded as transitional and painted round 1430. But at the bottom of the panel are a date and an inscription which reads: OPUS JOHANNIS D PETRI SIS MCCCCXXXVI.⁶² How are we to explain them?

The first half of the inscription criticism is agreed in disregarding.⁶³

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1426-1445 Since Olcott⁶⁴ put forward an ascription to Giovanni di Paolo, the picture has been unhesitatingly accepted by all save one dissentient as his work. Weigelt alone continued to regard the panel as the work of the supposititious Giovanni di Pietro, a dependant on Sassetta influenced by Giovanni di Paolo's early style. But if we examine the paragraph in the *Thieme-Becker Künstler Lexikon*,⁶⁵ in which he put forward his view, we find that to his mind the difficulty of an attribution to Giovanni di Paolo was complicated if not definitely caused by the date 1436. Now, though Olcott pointed out that the inscription had been renewed (so far as the actual paint is concerned it is modern), her analysis went no further. It is obvious, however, that if the restorer was capable of changing the original DE SENIS OR PAULI DE SENIS into the nonsense phrase D PETRI SIS, the inscription must have been almost completely erased. And in fact it seems that at the time the restoration was undertaken certain letters were sufficiently clearly visible for the copyist to be able to go over them directly, whereas others were so little visible that he changed the type of the capital used. Thus OPUS JOHANNIS read always as it does to-day, D PETRI is new, SIS M . . . xxx old and cccc . . . vi modern. When the picture was restored neither the second part of the painter's name nor the end figures of the date seem to have been legible.

The heavy gesso ornament down the front of the Virgin's robe in the *Servi Madonna* recurs in a large triptych showing *The Virgin and Child with SS. James and Nicholas of Bari* in the parish church at Baschi, near Orvieto.⁶⁶ This is the only one of Giovanni's works which can be immediately associated with an existing panel by Sassetta, the altarpiece of *The Virgin and Child enthroned with Saints* which the master was engaged in painting for the Duomo between 1430 and 1432⁶⁷ and of which the central panel until recently was at Chiusdino and a pinnacle of *The Virgin Annunciate* is in the Platt collection. Behind the enthroned Virgin of this picture Sassetta had introduced two half-length angels, their bodies twisted back, holding a crown over the

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Virgin's head. These figures Giovanni di Paolo imitates almost exactly in the central panel of the Baschi triptych. Moreover, in a medallion above the right wing of his triptych he paints what is virtually a reproduction of the Platt *Virgin Annunciate*. Above and beyond these details the thought of the picture is inherently Sassettesque. In the left panel stands St. James, his deep yellow cloak covering a dull green dress, in the right St. Nicholas vested in a heavily decorated cope with raised gold gesso ornament down the centre enclosing small figures of saints (SS. Paul and John Baptist may be readily discerned) against a diapered gold ground. The lining of the cope is deep pink, and the saint's white-gloved hand with its stretched thumb is again noticeably reminiscent of Sassetta. The throne on which the Virgin sits is covered with gold-patterned embroidery and on the floor are visible traces of an oriental textile design. The picture cannot have been designed earlier than 1432 and was probably completed before the commencement of the Fondi polyptych. The mannerisms of the Virgin's face and the treatment of her fair hair are much the same as those we noted in the Via delle Terme *Madonna*.

It is unlikely that details derived from Sassetta's pictures were confined to this triptych alone. Indeed a smaller *Madonna and Child in a Landscape* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Plate IXB),⁶⁸ in type close to the Via delle Terme and Baschi *Madonnas*, may itself be an imitation of a lost *Madonna* of Sassetta. Turned to the left, the Virgin sits on a brocaded cushion in a flower-strewn meadow backed by a dense wood. Behind her an extensive hilly landscape is laid out. If we compare her figure with that of the small *Madonna* by Sassetta in Berlin (No. 63B) we see that certain peculiarities—the arrangement of the robe at the neck and on the right side, the right arm of the Child, and the stretched hand with which the Virgin supports Him—are the same. Further, the rhythm of the landscape, the curve of the horizon echoed by the curve of the wood and the smooth uninterrupted contours of the Virgin's pose, may be Sassetta's. The landscapes of

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1426-1445 Giovanni di Paolo's predella panels of this moment afford us parallels for detail—the well-treed fields and the river which feeds them—but at the same time they betray a singular deficiency in the feeling for larger linear harmonies which is the glory of Sassetta's style. And it was just these harmonies that Giovanni di Paolo, left to evolve the composition alone, tended to discard. A version of this *Madonna*⁶⁹ in the Siena gallery painted perhaps as much as twenty years later than that at Boston shows us the same Virgin in the same landscape with all the magic gone. Her face is longer, her features heavier, her pose rigid, her hand bent sharply, while the line of the river bisecting the landscape behind no longer flows on with effortless rightness, the curves of the first picture being in each case flattened and contorted. Sassetta's original, if it existed, may well have been one of his most exquisite achievements.

But the spell which in the Baschi, Fondi and Boston *Madonnas* Sassetta for all too short a time cast over Giovanni di Paolo cannot have been immediate in its operation. What are the properties a *Madonna* painted between the Servi altarpiece and the Baschi triptych would have possessed? The technique of the draperies would probably have been Sassettesque; the painter might even have mimicked Sassetta's habit of scratching small lines in the surface of paint to reveal the gold ground below.* The Virgin's face would have been a careful, but perhaps not a subtle oval, and the Child might have been a tighter anticipation of that in the Boston *Madonna*. Just such a picture is a *Madonna and Child with SS. Jerome and Bartholomew* in the collection of Mr. Maitland Griggs, New York.⁷⁰ The Virgin, turned to the left, sits on a plain stone throne covered with a cushion, the saint to either side standing on a marbled step. In comparison with the fully Sassettesque works of c. 1436 the technique is very little fluent and the lines run with a rather monotonous hesitancy which betrays a style incompletely understood.*

Three other small pictures of saints spring from this secco moment



Madonna and Child in a Landscape
(*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)



Madonna and Child
(*Mr. George Blumenthal, New York*)

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in the early 'thirties. They are a *St. Bartholomew* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,⁷¹ a *St. Jerome* in the Siena Accademia⁷² and a *St. James* in the possession of Mr. F. Mason Perkins. Though these three panels cannot, owing to the diversity of their dimensions, have formed part of a larger whole, a number of points connect them with one another. There is a superficial relationship between the punch work of the underdress of the *St. Bartholomew* of the Griggs picture, that of the drapery on *St. Jerome's* seat and that of the dress of the Cambridge *Saint*. A pattern very like that of the tooled border of the panel with *St. Jerome* recurs in the halo of the Perkins *St. James*. On the reading-desk at which *St. Jerome* sits is a small black and white design which reappears in the *Servi Madonna*. The most interesting of the panels is the *St. Jerome*, which is more essentially the work of a miniaturist than any of Giovanni di Paolo's other panel paintings. Though there is much in it that is personal, it is possible that in this picture Giovanni was copying a trecentist, probably a Simonesque, design. The same scheme appears in a diptych published by Perkins as by Pellegrino di Mariano.⁷³

The period c. 1436 must have seen also the production of two of Giovanni's extant predellas, a set of Passion scenes, of which *The Agony in the Garden* and *The Deposition* are in the Vatican Gallery,⁷⁴ a *Christ carrying the Cross* in the J. G. Johnson collection, Philadelphia⁷⁵ (Plate XB), and *The Crucifixion* in the Lindenau Museum, Altenburg⁷⁶ (Plate XA), and *Four Scenes from the Life of the Virgin*, of which a *Nativity* and a *Sposalizio* are in the Doria Gallery. The Passion predella seems to be rather the earlier. Against a deep blue sky there run a line of dun-coloured hills broken on the left by the grey turrets of a town. Across a bridge in the middle distance Judas marches at the head of a company of soldiers to where, in the foreground, in front of a hedge of dull green fruit and palm trees, the apostles lie sleeping. On the right the blue and pink clad Christ raises up His arms in supplication. The three favoured apostles in the centre recall Barna. The

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1426-1445 head of the Christ on the Cross is seen almost in full-face; the Virgin lies unconscious on the ground, the five women huddled round her. The St. John to the right of the cross, dressed as he was on the evening of the Agony, stretches out his hands to either side as he gazes at the figure hanging on it. Two saints in conference beside him reappear reversed in *The Deposition*. The Pecci *Deposition* showed the body as it was being taken from the cross; in this panel it is already stretched out on the ground, the shoulders raised by the Virgin and the head and hair falling loosely backwards. In the centre is the bare cross, a ladder leant against it, and at the back a wide landscape lit by a gesso sun. In all four scenes the imaginative conception is somewhat beyond the artist's powers of execution. The *Agony* is a tribute to the phenomenon of night, the *Deposition* to the horror of death, which, feebly as they may express themselves, give us a foretaste of the deep feeling destined to actuate Giovanni di Paolo's mature conceptions.

The Doria *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin*⁷⁷ approach closer to Sassetta's suavity. The iconography of the *Nativity* (Plate XIa) is particularly interesting. The subject was one which had been treated in a more consistent way than any other in Sienese painting. Pietro Lorenzetti's picture of 1342 was hanging in the Duomo and Fei's of perhaps half a century later in some near-by church, when Sassetta, about 1430, received a commission for a polyptych of the *Nativity* for the Collegiata at Asciano.⁷⁸ Most painters would have had recourse to the most accessible and distinguished version of the subject. Sassetta did not. For the basis of his design he looked neither to Fei nor to Pietro Lorenzetti, but to one of a set of frescoes painted by Bartolo di Fredi for S. Agostino at San Gimignano.⁷⁹ From it he derived the pivotal figures of his picture, St. Anne in bed on the right, leaning forward to wash her hands, an attendant pouring water, and a girl entering the room through a door in the centre of the back wall. From Pietro Lorenzetti he borrowed the group of the Virgin's father on the left, and from Fei in a less literal way the nurses seated in the

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centre foreground holding the child. Thus he ignored (with every justice) the left side and centre front of Bartolo di Fredi's fresco. 1426-1445

What then could be more curious than to find in Giovanni di Paolo's predella panel a faithful copy of the very group of two nurses which Sassetta himself had discarded as unworthy of imitation? Giovanni di Paolo plainly was acquainted with both Sassetta's and Bartolo di Fredi's versions of the composition. Sassetta, for example, had introduced into Bartolo's design an elaborately tiled floor and a small chequer decoration along the bottom boards of the bed. These Giovanni di Paolo took over, as he took over the black-edged towel slung over a handmaid's shoulder. Bartolo's picture had contained just such a towel, but he had laid it with more practical sense on the bed in front of St. Anne. It is amusing to note that Giovanni, anxious to have the best of both worlds, reproduces one end of the towel behind the attendant's shoulder, where Sassetta had placed it, and the other end, where Bartolo had placed it, on top of the bed-clothes. He also introduces from the Asciano picture the small bed curtain Sassetta had used to break the flat wall at the back, and covers St. Anne's bed with a chequered rug taken alternatively from Pietro Lorenzetti or from Fei. Two features common to Sassetta's and Bartolo di Fredi's pictures Giovanni di Paolo omitted. The attendant behind he replaced by a fire, and the seated Joachim on the left by a standing woman. The centre of the front of the Doria panel, however, is an exact copy of Bartolo. On the left sits a woman leaning forward and stretching out her claw-like fingers (in the original she seems to be warming her hands) and on the right a nurse seated with her legs straight out, her right hand resting on her right thigh and her left hand supporting the standing child. The parallel for this panel is so precise that it is surprising to find that its companion panel, the *Sposalizio*, which is even happier in composition, derives only in a general way from the *Sposalizio* in the same S. Gimignano series. A close prototype for the three central figures, the High Priest, Joseph and the Virgin, and for

1426-1445 the looped and decorated curtain behind is provided by an anonymous fresco in the church of S. Leonardo al Lago near Siena. But the exact source of the composition of Giovanni's *Sposalizio* must for the present remain a mystery. The two panels provide a good example of how Giovanni di Paolo at this period rose highest when he was least original. So far as the interior rhythm of the picture is concerned, his guide was Sassetta. The choice of fabrics is fastidious (the oriental carpet of the *Sposalizio*⁸⁰ is most closely paralleled in Sassetta's *Madonna* at Zagreb), the materials wherever possible are relieved by fine gold patterns, the painter reveals Sassetta's very characteristic affection for striped cloths, and the poses have a precision far in advance of those in the Vatican Passion scenes. All this suggests that the Doria panels should be dated at the height of Sassetta's influence over Giovanni, soon after 1436, and the Vatican panels some years earlier.

To the years during which Sassetta's influence was waning we may ascribe four independent panels and the remnants of two further predellas. Shortly after completing the Osservanza *Crucifixion* Giovanni di Paolo seems to have determined to repeat the subject. He did so in a large panel now in the Lanckoronski collection, Vienna (Plate VI A).⁸¹ No contrast could be more striking than that between these two pictures. The treatment of the nude, the bones and veins heavily accented, is the same, but the head hangs down full-face and, the top of the panel being square, the transverse beam of the cross is lowered so that the body, like the cross itself, is arranged roughly along one perpendicular and one horizontal. The Virgin and St. John, who both in type and dress are copied from the Osservanza picture, sit at either corner, increasing the rectilinear character of the composition. The panel cannot have been part of a polyptych as it has a tooled edge. There is not much to choose between the undistinguished execution of the *Crucifixion* of 1440 and that of this version. But between the incoherent thinking of the one and the splendidly architectonic design of the other is a whole world of difference. The Lanckoronski

X The Crucifixion
(*Lindenau Museum,
Altenburg*)



Christ carrying the Cross
(*J. G. Johnson Art Gal-
lery, Philadelphia*)



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Crucifixion is replete with qualities which elsewhere we might term Masacciesque. It is scarcely conceivable that these qualities are not directly due to some original Giovanni saw in Florence. 1426-1445

A small polyptych in the collection of Mr. S. H. Kress, showing *The Virgin and Child enthroned with two Angels* in the central panel, SS. Jerome and Augustine at the sides, and above St. Anthony the Abbot, the Baptist, the Annunciatory Angel, the Virgin Annunciate, the Magdalen and S. Bernardino (Plate XII), belongs to precisely the same phase.⁸² The prototype in this case was some small altarpiece by a dependant of Fra Angelico, perhaps Andrea di Giusto, who is suggested by the type of the Baptist and to a less extent by the standing Child. The angels in the central panel are close to the angels of the supposed Guelfi predella of 1445, which we know to have derived from Fra Angelico, but the source of the strange hexagonal canopy above the Virgin's head is difficult to determine. The point which fundamentally differentiates this little work from pictures of purely Sienese origin is that, as in the Lanckoronski *Crucifixion*, the design is conceived in terms of a number of uprights, so that though the main panels retain superficially a Gothic form, the figures inside are visually unconnected with them.

Immediately before 1445 may be dated two more characteristic *Madonnas*. The first of them, a half-length figure in the Lindenau Museum, Altenburg,⁸³ small though it is, provides a valuable sidelight on Giovanni di Paolo's chronology. We noticed that in the Uffizi polyptych of 1445 the treatment of the Child's hair as well as the type of the Virgin's face had changed. The interest of the Altenburg picture is that though the type of the Virgin's face is very near to that of the Uffizi *Madonna*, the type of the Child still conforms closely—noticeably in the rough springy hair—to the Sassettesque models on which Giovanni, prior to his Florentine phase, drew. Thus the genesis of the Madonna type of the Uffizi polyptych of 1445 was not simultaneous with that of the new type of the Child in the same altarpiece.

1426-1445 Round the frame there runs a chain of naturalistic pinks and corn-flowers symptomatic of a spontaneity which makes this little painting particularly delightful.

Naturalism too is the keynote of a small *Madonna of Humility* in the Berenson Collection, Settignano.⁸⁴ The panel has a gold ground, but the cushion on which the Virgin sits rests in a flowery meadow. The plant forms are closely related to those in the New York *Paradiso*. The Child is clothed, but in other respects there is much to connect the picture with the Altenburg *Madonna*. The line of the veil round the Virgin's head is indicated in the same way (by a sequence of small white spots), while the painting of the face, the star on the shoulder, and the haloes are very similar.

Mention has already been made of the three predella panels which were once thought to have formed part of the Fondi polyptych, a *Presentation Crucifixion* and *Flight into Egypt* (Plate IIb) in the Siena Accademia.⁸⁵ The three scenes for various reasons have acquired great popularity and the last of them particularly is often reproduced as being typical of Giovanni di Paolo. But in fact none of the three rank with his best work. In design they are uninspired, and taken alone the *Crucifixion* might well suggest a very early date indeed. The Christ presents obvious affinities with that of the Pecci *Crucifixion* at Altenburg. The horsemen have gone, the priests on the right confer less loudly, the Magdalen has moved from the foot of the Cross and the St. John simulates a more intense despair. But the thin, strained, unreal atmosphere of the scene remains the same. The iconography of the two other panels, however, prevents our setting too high a value on inferences drawn from that in the centre. One detail in the *Presentation* and the general composition of the *Flight* derive directly from two of the predella panels of Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi*, and the *Adoration* Giovanni di Paolo can only have seen in the church of SS. Trinità in Florence, for which it had been painted. It will perhaps be suggested that his study of Gentile da Fabriano's

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picture took place at a date prior to the visit to Florence during which, as we have seen, he came in contact with Fra Angelico. But that is most unlikely. He cannot have seen the picture before his work on the Castelnuevo Berardenga *Madonna*, because that *Madonna* shows only a superficial acquaintance with Gentile's style, and he cannot have seen it between that date and the period in which we have postulated his Florentine visit, because it is against all reason that he should have been influenced by two unimportant predella panels and no single example of indigenous Florentine art. We are forced therefore to conclude that at the time at which he came in contact with a lost *Last Judgement* of Fra Angelico and with the sources of the Kress *Madonna* and the Lanckoronski *Crucifixion* he was influenced also by Gentile da Fabriano's picture.⁸⁶ In support of this thesis we may note that in the small *Crucifixion* we are discussing both the type of the Christ and the gold-stamped angels round the Cross reappear in the large Osservanza *Crucifixion* of 1440.

The least satisfactory of the panels of this predella, the *Presentation*, combines two elements. From Gentile's *Presentation* derive two beggars who sit cross-legged on flagstones on either side of the temple, where the main scene takes place. And how naïve and vacuous that main scene is! It would be inexplicable were it Giovanni di Paolo's own scheme, or indeed the original scheme of any quattrocento painter. But it is nothing of the kind. All the essential figures, the poses and the composition show close similarities to those of an anonymous fresco of the same scene in the church of S. Leonardo al Lago.⁸⁷ There are differences in the setting—Giovanni di Paolo's arches are more pointed, his columns more numerous, and the garland with which he decorates the roof of the temple of a characteristically Renaissance type—but the resemblances are still more striking. They include the very singular pattern on the steps leading up to the altar, the pose of the child (looking back over her shoulder to her mother who stands below the steps), the priest, the white-bearded father and his

1426-1445 friend gazing behind him. The St. Anne is Giovanni's own invention; the corresponding figure in the fresco plainly was too young in appearance to play the rôle to his satisfaction, but he reproduces it almost without change as an accessory figure.

The Flight into Egypt is one of those rare pictures which owe their interest to the damage time has inflicted on them. On a considerable area of the panel the surface of the paint has been entirely scraped away, leaving only the ground visible, and the landscape consequently seems bathed in an enchanted golden light far remote from the artist's intention. It is on the landscape that the interest of the spectator focusses itself. The figures of the Virgin and Child on the ass, the St. Joseph, and the two women who follow the cortège, are casual copies from Gentile. But the landscape is Giovanni's own, and when we make allowances for its condition, there is much in it that is remarkable. Its affinities are more with the landscape of the Pecci *Lazarus* than with those of the Vatican Passion scenes. But whereas the *Lazarus* landscape was a little featureless and general in conception, every inch of this picture betrays the closest natural observation. The general plan—a plain incised with hills, a few trees and some labourers, and bisected by a river—is much the same. But the foreground is littered with small pebbles and the labourers are engaged on the furrowing and ploughing which Giovanni di Paolo must have watched a thousand times in the valleys round Siena. Close contact with common life gives the panel a peculiar authenticity quite out of relation to its æsthetic significance. This is increased by the painter's original treatment of the problem of light. In the left corner is a gesso sun such as Gentile introduced into his version of the scene. But Giovanni di Paolo appreciated what Gentile seems scarcely to have understood, that if he introduced the sun close down on the horizon of his picture, he was logically bound to introduce shadows falling from the objects on which the sun cast its rays.⁸⁸ All the trees in Giovanni's panel, all the bushes, the pent-house in the middle distance and the

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smaller human figures cast their own shadows across the picture. Nor are these shadows mere formal contrivances; they are adjusted to the size and shape of the objects from which they fall with an almost scientific precision. The treatment of the scene, in short, reveals an inherent interest in genre and a startling realism which it is difficult to parallel elsewhere at so early a period, and which never recurs with the same emphasis even in Giovanni di Paolo's own later work. We may regard the *Flight* as the product of a tentative realistic phase which, rich as it was in possibilities, was crushed under the conceptualistic tendencies of the greater body of painting of the period. 1426-1445

Equally impregnated with the spirit of Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi* are two of the four existing panels of a rather later predella, which was composed of an *Expulsion of Adam and Eve and the Annunciation* in the Kress collection, New York,⁸⁹ a *Nativity* in the Vatican Gallery,⁹⁰ a *Crucifixion* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (Plate XI B),⁹¹ and a *Circumcision* in the Blumenthal collection, New York.⁹² There is little difficulty in proving that on grounds other than those of style these four panels belong together. The heights of the first three panels vary only between 38.5 and 40 cm.; the height of the fourth, which seems to have been reduced, is 33 cm. The width of the Kress, Vatican and Blumenthal panels are 46.8, 45 and 44 cm. respectively; that of the *Crucifixion*, which should as a matter of principle be about 5 cm. wider than the others, is 53 cm. The tooling of the haloes in all four panels is the same. The predella would presumably have consisted of five such pictures; if we allow a band of 5 cm. between each of the panels and estimate the width of the fifth at an average of 45 cm., its total length would have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of 2.54 m.

The Blumenthal *Circumcision*, which is generally discussed as a vague derivative of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Presentation in the Temple* of 1342,⁹³ is a straightforward copy of the predella panel of the same scene by Gentile in the Louvre. The middle of the panel is occupied

1426-1445 by a temple, on the right side of which kneels a beggar. Outside on the left there stand two women; in front of them is St. Joseph and by him in the centre the Virgin, who hands the Child to the rose-clad Simeon. Gentile's tiling, the thin columns and the foliated capitals are preserved. The composition was not one of his highest achievements and it presented therefore few difficulties to the copyist. The case of the *Nativity* which Giovanni di Paolo imitated in the Vatican panel was very different. To either side of the dark cave are dull-green, orange-bearing trees, and on the left a grey ruin flanked by a small pent-house which shelters, as in Gentile's panel, two witnesses of the scene. On the straw-strewn grey ground before the manger there lies the naked Child, adored by the kneeling Virgin, while on the right Giovanni's St. Joseph, like Gentile's, is seen wrapped up in his yellow cloak asleep under a leafless tree. The annunciatory angel irradiates a deep nocturnal sky. Gentile da Fabriano's *Nativity* is one of the supreme products of Italian painting, a picture in the creation of which mere intellect seems to have played no part. At no moment in his career was Giovanni di Paolo capable of achieving inevitability such as Gentile's, of imitating successfully his lovely liquid touch, of reaching in his imaginative efforts a comparable totality. By such standards the Vatican panel is little more than a great work of art distilled through a literal and often inconsequent brain. But considered alone it is a remarkable achievement betraying the germination of an atmospheric sense destined to develop to a point scarcely inferior to Gentile's own.

The Berlin *Crucifixion* is of more intrinsic interest. To compare it with the Pecci *Crucifixion*, which in essentials it resembles, is to realise how far Giovanni di Paolo had since advanced in the arts of expression and composition. The scene is consciously focussed. To the left a banner and a spear held by two riders incline towards the cross; on the right a wreathed saint on horseback points up at it. The pose of the Virgin—her hands clenched above her head and her drapery falling



The Birth of the Virgin (*Doria Gallery, Rome*)



The Crucifixion (*Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin*)

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loosely round her—is new and destined to recur on at least two other occasions in Giovanni's work. The panel affords clues to the date of the whole predella. The head of a horseman on the extreme right may profitably be compared with that of a young man in the lower tier of the New York *Paradiso* of 1445, while the full-face Christ is close to that in the Lanckoronski *Crucifixion*. Similarly the figures of Adam and Eve and the painting of the flowers and animals in the Kress *Annunciation* immediately recall the Lehman *Expulsion*. The *Annunciation* I know from reproduction only; but an admirable description of its colouring is that furnished by Langton Douglas:⁹⁴ "In the loggia of her house, Mary is seated three-quarter face to left. She wears a blue cloak, lilac robe and white headdress; her hands crossed on her breast. The house is Italian Gothic and is built of white marble, with many coloured panels and a tiled floor. Her bed, with a green canopy, is seen in a recess behind. . . . The angel approaches through the arch from the left with arms folded, in a pale rose-coloured dress over a white skirt, and with wings of golden peacock's feathers." To the left of the central scene is seen the *Expulsion*; the Adam and Eve are nude, and the avenging angel wears only a transparent veil. Above, God the Father appears in a mandorla. To the right of the *Annunciation*, in what seems to be another room of the same house, there sits St. Joseph warming his hands in front of a large fire. The setting derives from Fra Angelico. Fry went so far as to call the panel a "traduzione" of the S. Martino a Mensola *Annunciation*.⁹⁵ But it is difficult to establish more than a general contact between this picture and any of Fra Angelico's existing works. Whether it is a faithful version of a lost original or a mere reminiscence of some extant picture we cannot tell.⁹⁶

In three cases we can thus point to the originals of the compositions of these predella panels with some assurance, but a subjective impression insists that in all of them there are details and types neither Gentile da Fabriano nor Fra Angelico satisfactorily explain. The

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1426-1445 figures on the right of the *Crucifixion* and on the left of the *Circumcision* (in both cases repeatedly described as Sassettesque) seem to betray some contact, slight, amorphous and unemphatic, with the style of Pisanello. The issue presents itself in too tentative a way to be susceptible of a direct discussion as to whether the influence took place at first or second hand. We know that Domenico di Bartolo when he began the Pellegrinaio frescoes soon after 1440 had already felt Pisanello's influence. His frescoes were an attempt to graft Pisanellesque types and principles on to a none-too-sure Masacciesque substructure. It is possible that the contact between Domenico di Bartolo and Pisanello established itself in Florence. But at an uncertain date Pisanello certainly visited Siena, and though the repercussions of his visit there were neither extensive nor profound it is quite conceivable that Giovanni di Paolo would have been momentarily influenced by his style.

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With this singularly beautiful predella Giovanni di Paolo's first period closes. In his response to Florentine contacts he certainly was not alone. Sassetta's *Madonna delle Nevi* of 1432 shows in the types of the angels a reflex of the style of the early Filippo Lippi only a fraction less striking than that in Domenico di Bartolo's *Madonna* of the following year. And time may show that the career of Domenico di Bartolo himself was the archetype of rather than the exception to the careers of other Sienese painters of his day. Enough has been said of the initial emergence of Giovanni di Paolo's style. But the facts established as to his contact with Gentile da Fabriano have one vital implication, that they enable us to reject the attribution to him of a number of Marchigian pictures which it has been suggested that he painted under Gentile's direct inspiration. A *St. Francis receiving the Stigmata* in the Fornari collection, Fabriano,⁹⁷ is an anonymous Marchigian work revealing no contact with Siena. Two panels, each with two saints, in the Vatican Gallery are by an imitator of

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Ottaviano Nelli,⁹⁸ and a *Crucifix* in the church of S. Angelo Custode, Fermo,⁹⁹ is perhaps by the same associate of Antonio da Fabriano who painted a *Madonna* in the Pinacoteca of Ascoli Piceno.¹⁰⁰ Four *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin* in the Vatican Gallery ¹⁰¹ are by the Pseudo-Pellegrino di Mariano, a pupil of Sassetta. And a diptych of *The Virgin and Child with St. Michael* in the same gallery,¹⁰² given in the 1933 catalogue "senza esitazione" to Giovanni, is by a painter, probably a miniaturist, so mannered that study should make it possible to integrate his personality.

It is important also to define in a general way in what Giovanni di Paolo's contact with Fra Angelico consisted. By the time that it took place his naturally pronounced individuality had, as we have seen, been crystallised by rigid training. It was therefore most unlikely that he would have been capable of subordinating himself at such a period to the exponent of another style had he desired to do so. But the idea of the deliberate and general subordination of one painter to another was itself inconceivable in a period which did not consider its pictures as more than the means to a religious end. Watteau when he absorbs Rubens, Gauguin when he assimilates Puvis de Chavannes, behave as the products of fully civilised society. The will to perform some general act presupposes an intellectual detachment and a preoccupation with principle quite alien to the first half of the Quattrocento. Giovanni di Paolo was not deeply influenced by Fra Angelico. But he seems to have looked at certain of his pictures—a *Last Judgement* and an *Annunciation* among them—to have admired them in a direct, literal way and to have decided so far as he was able to copy them. He found much in these works that was sympathetic to his own temperament, an extremely analytical perception, an ineradicable interest in story-telling, and—a thing with which all Sienese painters seem to have been preoccupied—types which had in themselves physical charm. The two subjects he chose, a combination of the Annunciation and the Expulsion, and a Last Judgement, Hell and Paradise, appealed to him

1426-1445 in Fra Angelico's versions as likely as not because they were extremely difficult subjects to visualise from a literary point of view. The virtues of Fra Angelico's versions he would have regarded as dogmatic accuracy and narrative clarity. It was in the process of transcribing these works that he became incidentally so familiar with Angelico's types, with his poses, with his use of bright, pure local colours, that he could on a few occasions reproduce them in other contexts. In short, Giovanni di Paolo's contact with Fra Angelico, which took place probably somewhere about 1440, was in the highest degree casual.

From this contact the influence exerted on Giovanni di Paolo by Sassetta was both in extent and depth absolutely distinct. Its effects were deep, radical and wide. What reason have we for supposing that Sassetta influenced Giovanni di Paolo rather than Giovanni di Paolo Sassetta? The thesis rests primarily on a basis of probability. Giovanni di Paolo's early career shows him tacking to every wind. Sassetta's development was integral, natural, and absolutely logical. Sassetta was the elder probably by eleven years. He was an independent artist when Giovanni di Paolo was still an apprentice. By 1426, when Giovanni executed his first known altarpiece, Sassetta had completed the pala for the chapel of the Arte della Lana in Siena. It is worth while to compare its existing panels with the existing panels of the Pecci predella, in which Giovanni di Paolo clung with tenacity to an outworn and in some respects a meretricious set of formulæ. How different was it with Sassetta! Endowed it might seem at birth with an exquisite technique, he had beside a gift for simple, intelligible statement, for effortlessly right poses, for easy spacing, for fresh compositions. At the age of thirty he commanded an intimacy, a sense of colour and a grasp of line comparable to Simone's own. He was as fanciful, as charming, as accomplished. More than that, he was by nature what we may call an æsthetic painter. No one who examines an early Sassetta, for example the *Christ carrying the Cross* at Detroit, can doubt that in Sassetta's mind the fact of composition was inde-



Madonna and Child between SS. Jerome and Augustine
(Mr. Samuel Kress, New York)

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pendent of a subject interest. The development of his style synchronises with the germination in Siena of a deliberate art. Giovanni di Paolo's art was not in that sense deliberate. His was first and foremost a literary intelligence. 1426-1445

We have already noticed in the preceding pages details which may be attributed to the example of Sassetta, the use of gold-stamped brocades and oriental carpets, the facial structure of Giovanni di Paolo's Virgins of the later 'thirties, and in two cases the pose of his Child. But the sum of these details does not in any real way represent what Giovanni di Paolo owed to his contemporary. Put bluntly, Sassetta forced on Giovanni an ideal of formal organisation. In a vain search for forcible expression the later Sienese trecento, while it adhered to primitive mediums and iconography, had abandoned the primitive ideal of contour which was expressive because it was unbroken. Simone in his last Passion scenes had prepared the way for this renunciation. The decision—it was general, voluntary and unconscious—was disastrous. Only too naturally when he was working under Taddeo and the shadow of Fei, Giovanni di Paolo was deeply affected by it. So doubtless in his earliest pictures was Sassetta. But whereas Giovanni di Paolo was the spiritual heir of the fevered expressionistic tradition of Bartolo di Fredi, Sassetta had an inherent genius for precisely that type of painting for which the style of the late trecento offered least scope. For that reason he rationalised his style and though very occasionally (the Basciano *Madonna* is a case in point) he was prepared to modify his scheme in the direction of Giovanni di Paolo's, in general Giovanni, with a how much slighter gift for formal organisation, clambered along in his wake.

Had Giovanni di Paolo died in 1445, he would still deserve his own corner in art histories. In Taddeo di Bartolo's genre he had painted two large Madonnas more beautiful than anything Taddeo had himself produced. In colour he had shown himself in the Fondi polyp-tych capable of vying with Sassetta. But he would be remembered

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1426-1445 probably for his small pictures of these years, pictures in which the fresh clear vision of the early quattrocento is epitomised as in few other paintings. Both in Florence and Siena the sight of the period was focussed on essentials—the essential of form in the one case, of narrative in the other. No one perhaps has ever had the power of telling stories shorn of the overlay of psychology which we call the sentimental in the same degree as Fra Angelico and as Sassetta. The world in which Giovanni di Paolo was painting was that strange place, a world in which the painter could look at objects and record them as he saw them, with refinement yet without reference to the legacies of centuries of culture. Giovanni di Paolo in his first period did not achieve the visual suavity of Sassetta or the imaginative unity of Fra Angelico. But in one phase of painting, that of landscape, he was the superior of either. Just as Sassetta caught up the broken thread of the tradition of Simone Martini, so Giovanni di Paolo turned back to Ambrogio Lorenzetti for guidance. By 1445 he had produced landscapes in a vein of unforced and imperishable beauty which no painter was to strike again. Giovanni di Paolo had recorded as it has never been recorded before or since the awe of the simple spiritual man before the mysteries of darkness and sunlight, of atmosphere, shadow and reflection. How soon was this visionary purity to vanish as the Renaissance overwhelmed him!

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- 1 Milanesi, *Documenti*, i, 48. Giovanni di Paolo is listed between Vicho di Lucha and Giovanni Lazaro di Leonardo as one of a group of artists enrolled in the Guild before 1428. The list includes Martino di Bartolommeo, Andrea di Bartolo and Sassetta; its order appears arbitrary.
- 2 C. Brandi, *Dedalo*, xi, 722 seq.; *L'Arte*, 1934, 462 seq.
- 3 Dimensions: 1.70 × 0.83 m. Signed: OPUS JOHANNIS SENENSIS MCCCCXXVI. Jacobsen, *Das Quattrocento in Siena*, 47, gives the signature incorrectly. Mentioned by Romagnoli, *Bellartisti Senesi*, MS. Bibl. Com. Sen., L. ii 4, v. iv, 313. The picture would probably have been sent to Castelnuovo Berardenga on the reconstruction of S. Domenico in the first decades of the seventeenth century. It had already been restored when Brogi, *Inventario*, 1897, 75, saw it.
- 4 Dated 1400. The composition has also something in common with the Volterra *Madonna* of 1411 and so far as the kneeling angels are concerned with the Perugia polyptych of 1403. More startling analogies, however, are presented by a *Madonna and Child with Angels*, now on the antique market, which combines Taddeo's S. Caterina della Notte Child with the two music-making angels reproduced at the front of Giovanni di Paolo's picture.
- 5 Ugurgieri, *Le Pompe Sanesi*, 1649, ii, 346; "Giovanni di Paolo da Siena (che egli anche fu buon pittore) fece tre tavole nella chiesa di San Domenico della patria; una delle quali è nella Cappella de' Malevolti, ove è dipinta una Madonna, un S. Giovanni, un S. Lorenzo, un S. Domenico, un S. Paolo, e sotto nella predella un Crocifissione, un Cristo che porta la croce, ed un sepolcro di Cristo, e fu fatta l'anno 1426."
- 6 Alessandro VII, *Guida di Siena*, 1625, MS., Bibl. Vat., Rome.
- 7 Bossio, *Visita Pastorale*, 1575, MS. Cura Arcivescovile, Siena, 680.
- 8 Nos. 193, 197. Dimensions: (a) 1.24 × 0.41 m., (b) 1.27 × 0.44 m. Van Marle, *Development*, ix, 458, as Giacomo del Pisano. The floor on which the St. John stands is marbled. His flesh is brown and his hands are fantastically deformed. His blue robe is bordered with a gold pattern and a golden fringe; it has a darker blue lining. The face is heavily veined in white. The red-haired St. Dominic holds a lily and a red ornamented book.
- 9 Dimensions: 0.40 × 0.44 m. From the Chigi Saraceni collection, Siena. Brandi's measurements for these panels are incorrect.

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- 10 No. 77. Dimensions: 0.41 × 0.56 m. Provenance unknown. Grouped by Van Marle, *op. cit.*, ix, 444, "among the works characteristic of the less advanced stage of (Giovanni di Paolo's) decadence."
- 11 An actual connection between Fei and Giovanni di Paolo has been postulated by Berenson, *Pitture Italiane del Rinascimento*, 1936, Langton Douglas, *The Nineteenth Century and After*, November, 1904, 764, and Hutton, *The Sienese School in the National Gallery*, 1925, 58. The majority of the decorative expedients of the Castelnovo *Madonna*, the lining of the Virgin's robe for example, derive directly from Taddeo. The date 1412 inscribed on the reverse of Fei's Minutolo triptych and implicitly accepted by Berenson as a proof of his activity after 1410 (*A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend*, 1909, 59n.) is misleading: stylistically the picture, if not as early as Van Marle supposed (*c.* 1387), must date well before 1400.
- 12 Mancini, *Miscellanea*, MS. Barb. Vat. lat., 4315.
- 13 Colasanti, *Gentile da Fabriano*, 15-16. The Ricordi of Dino de' Mazzi Senese, 1395-1427 (fol. 159 B) show that Gentile had been in Siena at least from the June of the preceding year.
- 14 Brandi, *L'Arte*, loc. cit. There seems to have been a small circular *Pietà* below the picture.
- 15 Ugurgieri, loc. cit.: "Nella Cappella dei Branchini, che era incontro a quella di Malevolti, ne fece un' altra l'anno seguente nella quale è dipinta la Vergine con altri santi; ma essendosi poi guasta la detta Cappella, e trasferita alle volte di S. Caterina da Siena di detta Chiesa, la detta tavola fu posta nel refettorio del Convento." Romagnoli twice refers to the picture, *op. cit.*, iv, 314, where he confuses it with an altarpiece by Matteo di Giovanni, and iv, 328-9, where he describes it as dated 1426 and part of an altarpiece painted for Castelnovo Berardenga.
- 16 Tizio, *Historiarum Senensium*, MS. Bibl. Com. Sen. B iii 9, iv, 207.
- 17 Bossio, *op. cit.*
- 18 Dimensions: 1.81 × 0.94 m. From the Chigi Saraceni collection, Siena. A writer in *Dedalo*, 1925, August, 201, refers to its purchase. Exhib. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1925.
- 19 The floor is strewn with decorative wild-flowers, an idea for which Sienese art

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provides no adequate parallel. But the technique is not conspicuously much more Gentilesque than that of the Pecci *Madonna*.

- 20 Ugurgieri, loc. cit.
- 21 Bossio, op. cit., 664 seq.
- 22 Della Valle, *Lettere Senesi*, 1786, iii, 50. Mancini's reference to the picture, loc. cit., is the result of a confusion: "E Giovanni di Paolo si perfettionò come si vede in S. Francesco nell'altare dell'Assunta della Madonna per casa Fondi." We know from Bossio that the altar of the Assumption was next to the Fondi altar and was associated with the Loriani family.
- 23 Brandi's rule that Bossio's failure to describe the attendant saints of altarpieces argues the absence of the saint to whom the altar was dedicated is of frequent if not universal application.
- 24 No. G434-1. Dimensions: $53\frac{5}{8} \times 33\frac{5}{8}$ in. Coll.: Mme. d'Oliveira, Florence. Presented to the Metropolitan Museum, 1888.
- 25 Perkins, *La Diana*, 1932, 245.
- 26 Overall dimensions: 1.04×0.83 m. The condition of the paint at the base of the New York panel should also reveal traces of scorching.
- 27 De Nicola, *Burlington Magazine*, xxiii, 46.
- 28 Bacci, *Jacopo della Quercia: Nuovi Documenti e Commenti*, 1929, 320, quoting: Siena, Op. Duomo, Entr.-Usc. di Silvestro di Mesi camar. (1437-8), cc. 28-35, notes that on April 30th, 1438, payment was made to Giovanni di Paolo "perchè aconciò e rinfrescò uno Crocifisso piccholo, il quale ista in certi tempi in su l'altare maggiore in Duomo."
- 29 No. 200. Dimensions: 2.47×1.19 m.
- 30 Della Valle, op. cit., iii, 54, also records the date: "Oltre alle dette di sopra, ne osservai una nel chiostro a pian terreno del Convento dell'Osservanza che fu dipinta nel 1440." This is presumably the picture seen by Lanzi, *Storia*, 1822, i, 274; "E migliore un Deposito di Croce dipinto sei anni appresso alla Osservanza di Siena; ove i difetti del secolo sono contrappesati da doti non volgari a quei tempi e specialmente da una sufficiente intelligenza del nudo."
- 31 The reference to the painting of the Infirmary altarpiece appears in the Libri Conticorrenti dell'Ospedale for 1436-44, vol. 566, c. 516v. "Mo. Gio-

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vanni di Pavolo dipentore die avere a dì xv di marzo 1440 Fior. trentacinque di L. iiii fiorino sono per una tavola d'altare cia dipinta la quale tavola e posta nela chapella dela ifermeria missa aoro fine." The further references from the same volume of the Libri Conticorrenti are as follows:

- c. 178. Hanne dati a dì detto xx di maggio 1440 L. trentaquattro chontati per noi a maestro Giovanni di Pavolo dipentore a uscita di frate Jachomo di Michele camarlingho.
- c. 179v. Maestro Giovanni di Pavolo dipentore sta al pogio malevolti die dare a dì xx di maggio 1440 L. sei S. O sono per la valuta di staia sei di grano ne li facciamo pulizia a frate Agnolo di Xtofano camarlingho al granaio.
- c. 189. Hanne dati a dì 31 daghosto 1440 L. quaranta S. O chontati per noi mo. Giovanni di Pavolo dipentore sono a entrata di frate Jachomo.
- c. 247. Hanne dati a dì xviii di novembre 1441 L. quattordici S. O achordo per noi a mo. Giovanni di Pavolo dipentore sono posti a lui in questo fol. 516.

The following book (ann. 1442-4, vol. 567) contains another reference to Giovanni di Paolo's work for the Hospital:

- c. 33. Maestro Giovanni di Pavolo dipentore die dare a dì vii di novembre 1442 L. sette S. quattro sono per staia sei di grano ne li facciamo pulizia a frate Agnolo di Xtofano camarlingho al granaio o Lonardo suo gharzono.

Further, at the end of December 1441, Giovanni di Paolo is mentioned with Pietro Nanni Puccii as a rector of the guild of painters (Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti*, 1898, 135, quoting: Archivio dei Contratti in Siena, Filza dei rogiti di Ser Galgano di Cenne, no. 23).

- 32 A retouched inscription at the base of the central panel reads: OPUS JOHANNIS MCCCCXLV.
- 33 Trübner, *Die Tafelbilder des Sano di Pietro*, 21. The picture is now in the Uffizi.
- 34. L. Olcott, *Guide*, 1903, 306. It was already in this condition when Romagnoli, op. cit., iv, 314, saw it.
- 35 Dimensions: 2.47 × 2.12 m. Acquired 1904 from Ing. Niccolò Giaccone Miraglia. On contacts between Florence and Siena in the early quattrocento see the brilliant pages of Longhi, *Ricerche su Giovanni di Francesco*, *Pinacoteca*, 1928-9, 37-8.

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In this connection should be noted what even Longhi fails to observe, that Pietro di Giovanni's *Adoration of the Shepherds* in S. Agostino at Asciano is in effect only a free copy of the picture Bicci di Lorenzo had completed in 1435 for the Florentine church of S. Giovannino dei Cavalieri.

36 Ugurgieri, loc. cit. Della Valle, op. cit., iii, 50.

37 Many of the facts cited by Brandi, *L'Arte*, loc. cit., are irrelevant and serve only to obscure the issue. Late in 1623 the chapter of S. Domenico decided to change the site of the Guelfi altar in accordance with the will of Ostilio Guelfi, who had died twenty-two years previously. The altar was to be rebuilt in marble and in 1628 was provided with a new altarpiece by Rutilio Manetti (Brandi, *Rutilio Manetti*, 1931, 37-40, 114-15). There is no evidence at what date prior to 1628 Giovanni di Paolo's polyptych was removed from the altar. It is conceivable that the author of the *Guida*, writing in 1625, never saw the true Guelfi polyptych at all.

38 Bossio, op. cit., 680, correctly describes the altar as the fifth from the entrance on the left side of the church, situated between the Petrucci and Borghesi altars. The author of the *Guida* believed it to be the fourth altar, that of the Borghesi family. Ugurgieri's informant saw the polyptych in its correct position, next the altar which in his time was that of the Petrucci and in Ugurgieri's that of the Colombini. Brandi's suggestion (*La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, 1933, 85) that Ugurgieri confused Giovanni di Paolo's polyptych of 1445 with Paolo di Giovanni's *Madonna* of 1386 is absurd. We may remember that there was a point in 1624-5 when, the Guelfi altar already having been moved, its old site was turned over to the use of the Branchini family and occupied by Giovanni di Paolo's Branchini polyptych of 1427; this like the Guelfi altarpiece was moved to the refectory when, later in 1625, the Branchini altar was transferred to the Cappella delle Volte.

39 Cat. 1860-4, 29, no. 139.

40 Jacobsen, op. cit., 43.

41 Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 418.

42 Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, 1933, 85.

43 Dimensions: 0.41 × 2.53 m.

44 No. G434-2. Dimensions: 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. Transferred to canvas. Pur-

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chased 1906 from the Palmieri-Nuti collection, Siena. Ex. *Mostra d'Antica Arte Senese*, 1904, v. Ricci, *Il Palazzo Pubblico di Siena*, Bergamo, 1904, 105. Wrongly attributed by Breck, *Art in America*, 1914, 185, to the period of the Siena *Last Judgement*.

- 45 Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 419 (gallery number incorrect).
- 46 L. Venturi, *Pitture Italiane negli Stati Uniti*, pl. CXXIX.
- 47 Dimensions: $17\frac{7}{8} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ in. From the Benoit collection, Paris. Described by R. Lehman, *Catalogue of the Philip Lehman Collection*, no. 47.
- 48 Petrucci, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1914, 8.
- 49 This fact is recognised by Jacobsen, op. cit., 44, and Perkins, *Art in America*, 1921, 45. L. Venturi, however, op. cit., pl. CXXXII, dates the Lehman panel c. 1450, rather later than the New York *Paradise*.
- 50 Meiss, *Art in America*, September, 1936. Wrongly listed by Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 453n., as Veronese School. The analogies with which Meiss supports his attribution to Giovanni di Paolo are drawn mainly from late works. Is the panel not Lombard?
- 51 This attribution was first put forward by Romea, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1926, 72. Dimensions: 40.05×70.15 cm. Berenson, *Int. Studio*, 1930, Dec., as Gualtieri di Giovanni.
- 52 Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 392.
- 53 Brandi, *L'Arte*, loc. cit., thinks the attribution to Giovanni di Paolo "un po' sorprendente" and prefers to consider the panel the work of a "raro e misterioso trecentista senese" none of whose other paintings have survived.
- 54 A parallel case for such collaboration is provided by the polyptych for the Marescotti altar in S. Agostino, signed by Taddeo di Bartolo and Gregorio di Cecco. v. Milanese, op. cit., i, 47.
- 55 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy* (ed. Douglas), 1926, iii, 132n. The picture was ascribed to Dürer and was formerly in a Spanish collection.
- 56 Attribution of Berenson, op. cit., 1930, 214.
- 57 No. 212. Dimensions: 1.15×1.03 m. Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 443, did

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not, as Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca*, 97, states, attribute the picture to Giacomo del Pisano.

58 No. 213. Dimensions: 0.76 × 0.39 m.

59 Berenson, *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, 1909; omitted in later editions. Repr. Perkins, *La Diana*, 1932, 242, whose account of its conditions is in no way exaggerated.

60 Width: 1.02 m.

61 Romagnoli, op. cit., iv, 328, records a similar *Madonna* in the Stanza dei Pupilli of the Palazzo Pubblico.

62 The signature was incorrectly transcribed both by Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 398, and Jacobsen, op. cit., 47. Both mistakes are corrected by Edgell, *Art Studies*, 1925, 36.

63 The Giovanni di Pietro who is assumed to have been Vecchietta's brother is documented for the first time in 1453 (Milanesi, op. cit., 279); there is no reason to identify him with the painter of the same name to whom we have one reference in connection with the Emperor Sigismund's visit to Siena in 1432.

64 Olcott, *Guide*, 1903, 283.

65 Weigelt, *Thieme-Becker Künstler Lexikon*, xiv, 138, under Giovanni di Pietro: "Ohne diese Inschrift würde man das Bild dem Giovanni di Paolo geben, da es neben dem Abhängigkeit von Sassetta besonders in den kleinen Figuren der Beter und in den Propheten auf dem Mantel die Kennzeichen des frühen Stiles Giovanni di Paolos zeigt. . . . Alles Urkundliche spricht auch dafür dass unser Giovanni, wenig selbständig wie er war, in seiner Frühzeit Giovanni di Paolo konnte nachgeahmt haben, auch fügt sich das Bild nicht ganz glatt in das Werk des Älteren ein."

66 Repr. Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 400.

67 Perkins, *Rass. d'Arte Sen.*, 1912, 196; de Nicola, *Arte inedita in Siena*, 47.

68 Dimensions (without frame): 56 × 42 cm. From the Miller von Aichholz and Figdor collections. Figdor Sale, no. 9 (bt. Agnew, 135,000 marks). Discussed by Baldass, *Pantheon*, 1929, 466, and L. Venturi, op. cit., pl. CLV.

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- 69 No. 206. Dimensions: 0.61 × 0.47 m. Van Marle, ix, 408, gives the gallery number incorrectly. Brandi's view, *La Regia Pinacoteca*, 95, that this picture is the prototype of that at Boston is unintelligible. The upper part of a yet later and larger version of the composition is in the collection of M. Adolphe Stoclet, Brussels.
- 70 Berenson, *Pittura Italiana del Rinascimento*, 1936, 212, wrongly identifies the left lateral saint as Peter.
- 71 Dimensions: 16 × 12 cm. Presented by Francis Neilson, 1936. The picture is correctly dated by Pouncey, *Report of the National Art Collections Fund*, 1936, 47, no. 968.
- 72 No. 180. Dimensions: 0.32 × 0.23 cm.
- 73 Perkins, *Rass. d'Arte Sen.*, iv, 1908, 6. Formerly belonging to Simonetti, Rome. A small triptych of the *Madonna and Child with Saints* was attributed by A. Venturi, *Studi dal Vero*, 83, to Giovanni di Paolo and later with every justice by Berenson to an associate of Pellegrino di Mariano, Dedalo, 1931, March, 634-5; the central panel of the picture is a copy of the so-called Lippo Memmi *Madonna of Humility* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (no. 1072).
- 74 Nos. 124, 129. Dimensions: 32.5 × 33 cm. Toesca, *L'Arte*, vii, 303 seq., seems to associate these panels in date with the gabella cover of 1445.
- 75 No. 105. Dimensions: 12 × 12½ in. Berenson, *Catalogue of the J. G. Johnson Collection*, i, 57, finds in the background reproductions of the Septizonium and the Trajan column. First recognised as belonging to the Vatican panels by Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 425-6.
- 76 No. 78. Dimensions: 31 × 42 cm. Not previously identified as part of this predella.
- 77 Nos. 132, 134. Ascribed to Giovanni di Paolo by Toesca, loc. cit., and to Sassetta by Escher, *Die Malerei der Renaissance in Italien*, 1922, i, 64.
- 78 Berenson, *A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend*. De Nicola's dating is unacceptable both for this picture and the Basciano *Madonna*.
- 79 Langton Douglas, *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 1904, November, 763-4.

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- 80 Soulier, *Les Influences Orientales dans la Peinture Toscane*, 206.
- 81 Dimensions: 1.95×1.25 m. Cf. Berenson, *Italian Illustrators of the Speculum*, 109-111.
- 82 Dimensions: *c.* 1.00×0.80 m. At the bottom of the panel is an erased inscription ending . . . xxxx.
- 83 Dimensions: 25×18 cm. No. 76. The catalogue of the gallery, 1915, 64, describes the Virgin's mantle as dark green; it is nearer blue black in colour. Like the star on her shoulder, the edging is yellow; the collar, sleeve, dress and veil in which the Child is held are bronzed.
- 84 Perkins, *La Diana*, 1931, 29.
- 85 Nos. 174, 175, 176. Dimensions: (a) 43×51 cm., (b) 43×52 cm., (c) 43×50 cm.
- 86 Van Marle's claim, *op. cit.*, ix, 462, to have seen a copy of the central panel of Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration* from Giovanni di Paolo's hand does not bear scrutiny.
- 87 Yet another version of the scene was painted by Giovanni di Paolo at a rather later date, *c.* 1450; it formed part of the late Otto Kahn's collection, New York, and is now in the collection of Lord Bearsted. Size: $8\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in. Valentiner, *Unknown Masterpieces*, 1930. Shown at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Italian exhibition, 1923, no. 11. Scharf fails to notice the iconographical interest of this picture, the only one known to me in which the attendant figures from the left side of Gentile da Fabriano's *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* are grafted into the conventional *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* composition. The statements of Van Marle, *op. cit.*, ii, 322, and Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca*, 88, that in these panels Giovanni di Paolo was copying the fresco of the *Presentation* completed by Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti in 1335 for the Ospedale della Scalla, rest on a basis of assumption. It is probable that the S. Leonardo *Presentation* (repr. Lusini, *Il Duomo di Siena*, 1911, 291) as well as the kindred fresco in the sacristy of the Duomo derived from an original by Ambrogio Lorenzetti. But in no case, in view of the existence of two earlier quattrocento versions, is it possible to agree with Brandi that Giovanni di Paolo's small panel in Siena should be regarded as the "riproduzione più fedele" of the celebrated scene.

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- 88 Breck, *Art in America*, 1914, 178; Antal, *Entwicklung*, 1924-5, 227; Dami, *Dedalo*, 1923-4, ii, I.
- 89 Dimensions: $15\frac{1}{2} \times 18$ in. Coll.: Farrer, Sir Charles Robinson, Benson (no. 9). *Athenaeum*, June 4th, 1904, 728; Robinson, *Memoranda on Fifty Pictures*, 1868, 2; Frizzoni, *L'Arte*, vii, 268; Douglas, *La Balzanna*, 1927, 105-6.
- 90 No. 132. Dimensions: 39×45 cm.
- 91 No. 1112c. Dimensions: 39×53 cm.
- 92 Dimensions: 33×44 cm. Coll.: Southesk. *Catalogue of the George and Florence Blumenthal Collection*, pl. XXVI. L. Venturi, op. cit., pl. CXXVIII.
- 93 Perkins, *Rass. d'Arte*, 1913, 196, *Art in America*, ix, 45.
- 94 *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Sienese Paintings*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1904, 55, no. xx.
- 95 Fry, *Rass. d'Arte*, iv, 118.
- 96 An unimportant product of the period at which Giovanni di Paolo was influenced by Fra Angelico is a restored and fragmentary panel of *Five Angels* in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, no. 9. Dimensions: 54×66 cm. Northwick Sale, 1859. Tentatively attributed by Gruyer (*Catalogue*, 1899) to "Ecole Siennoise," and by Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*, 1909, to Giovanni di Paolo.
- 97 Attributed to Giovanni di Paolo by Colasanti, *Gentile da Fabriano*, 81, *Boll. d'Arte del Ministro della Pubbl. Istruz.*, i, 1907, 21.
- 98 Nos. 212, 219. Attributed to Giovanni di Paolo by Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 403.
- 99 Attributed to Giovanni di Paolo by L. Venturi, *L'Arte*, xviii, 1915, 204 (repr. 199), *Rassegna Marchigiana*, iii, 1925, 436. Van Marle, op. cit., as Pietro da Montepulciano (?), Berenson, op. cit., 25, as Antonio da Fabriano, Serra, *L'Arte nelle Marche*, ii, 245, as not by Antonio da Fabriano.
- 100 L. Venturi, loc. cit., ascribes this picture to a Marchigian imitator of Giovanni di Paolo. Cavalcaselle and Morelli, *Cat. delle Opere d'Arte nelle Marche e nell'Umbria*, Gall. Naz. It., ii, 207, suggest more correctly that the motivating influence is Vecchietta's. Serra, *Ascoli Piceno Cat.*, 1919,

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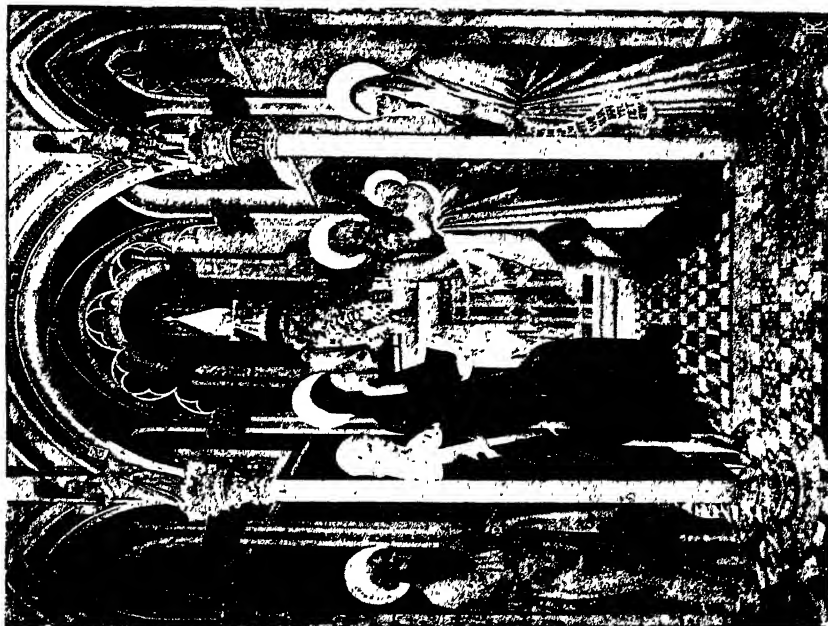
29, associates all these panels with a *Miracle of St. Anthony* in S. Francesco di S. Ginesio.

- 101 Nos. 237-40. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, 1932, 247, as Giovanni di Paolo, *Pitture Italiane del Rinascimento*, 1936, as Sano di Pietro. D'Achiardi, *Catalogue of the Vatican Gallery*, 1914, nos. 168-71, as Pellegrino di Mariano. *Catal.*, 1933, as School of Sassetta. Van Marle (op. cit., ix, 372-3) seems to have seen that these four panels were by the same hand as the two predellas in the Siena Gallery, nos. 216, 218, generally accepted as constituting the basis of the Pseudo-Pellegrino di Mariano's work. But his attribution was tentative in the extreme. A comparison between details of the three pictures (the folds of the robe of the figure on the extreme left of the left panel of Siena no. 218 with those of the Virgin in the Vatican *Visitation* or the St. Joseph in the Vatican *Sposalizio*, and the head of the St. Ambrose and of the attendant in the right panel of no. 216 with those of the St. Joseph and the herald in the *Sposalizio*) seems to show an indisputable identity of authorship.
- 102 Nos. 125, 138. Dimensions: 17 × 7 cm. each panel. Attributed to Giovanni di Paolo by Berenson, op. cit., de Nicola, *Burlington Magazine*, xxiii, 54. Listed by Van Marle, op. cit., 452n., as "three little Madonnas."

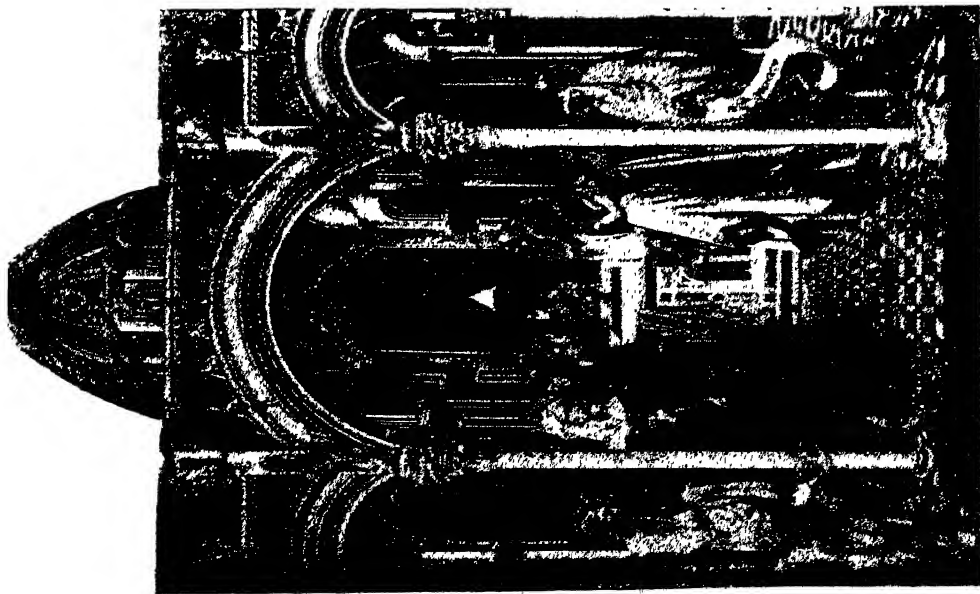
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1445-1463

WE may suppose that when Giovanni di Paolo had completed the Guelfi polyptych, he was among the best considered, as he was certainly among the most prolific, painters in Siena. For a further twenty years, so far as we can tell, his good fortune continued. We catch a glimpse of his condition in a declaration of goods¹ made to the commune eight years later, in 1453, where he declares himself the owner of "una chasa posta nel terzo di Chamolia nel populo di Sancto Gilio nella contrada del pogio Malevolti, ne la quale io abito a casa et a butiga" as well as of a second house in the same *terzo* "allato alle case della compagnia di Sancto Michelagnolo" which no one could live in owing to the state of its repair. At the beginning of this period he was again working in the Duomo, from the authorities of which, according to an entry in the *Deliberazioni* of 1441-57,² he received on August 20th, 1446, jointly with Fruosino di Nofrio "lib: quarantotto e quali sono per dipentura de l'arco de la porta di mezzo del Duomo e doratura la Madonna rilevata a loro cholori e mordente, salvo che oro e azuro mise l'Operaio; et per loro fatiche d'achordo con missere Gioanni Borghesi operaio." We know nothing of the career of Fruosino di Nofrio, who had been working independently in the Duomo as early as 1442, and no traces of this commission have survived. But in the April of the succeeding year, 1447, Giovanni di Paolo received an order from the Università e Arte dei Pizzicaiuoli for an altarpiece for its chapel in the church of the hospital of S. Maria della Scala.³ The subject was to be *The Presentation in the Temple*, the



The Presentation in the Temple
(*Conservatorio di S. Pietro, Colle Val d'Elsa*)



The Presentation in the Temple
(*Accademia, Siena*)

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picture to be finished by November 1st, 1449. It is now in the Siena Accademia * (Plate XIII A). 1445-1463

The contract, the only one for any extant work of Giovanni di Paolo of which there is a record, specified that not only the subject but the composition and the treatment should be dictated by the rectors of the guild. We can have no doubt, though it is not explicitly mentioned in the document, that what they demanded was a free version of the celebrated *Presentation* which Ambrogio Lorenzetti over a century before, in 1342, had painted for the Spedaletto of Monna Agnese. But, as we look at the altarpiece to-day, we may well ask ourselves whether the rectors would have been prepared for the fantastic creation with which Giovanni di Paolo presented them.

It is extremely important for any understanding of the artist to try to discover where and why he departed from his original. The fundamental fact of his licence is this, that before he was required to copy Ambrogio's picture he had already become acquainted with the same subject as treated by Gentile da Fabriano in the predella of the *Adoration of the Magi* in SS. Trinità. In a predella of his own he had transcribed the panel with reasonable accuracy, and consequently when he approached the monumental plasticity of Ambrogio's work he was impregnated with the spirit of Gentile so fully that what was intended probably to be a direct copy of the one scene became no more than an interpretation of that scene in terms of the other. Had Giovanni di Paolo received his commission for the Siena picture at a considerably later date, he might have adhered more closely to Ambrogio's heavy scheme and produced a massive, faithful equivalent. As it was, he changed and to some small extent elaborated Lorenzetti's setting. The octagonal erection behind the Uffizi picture became the domed structure destined to recur with a different lantern in a panel of *Zacharias and the Angel* in the Lehman collection, the decorative figures below it grew into presumptuous Renaissance putti and the frieze of dragons under them, an idea of which Lorenzetti had made

1445-1463 scant use, swelled to twice its former size. The decorative bands above the arches are less ornate, the columns are wider, the prophets on top of them stand in front of niches, and the capitals below are more emphatic. The pose of the main figures remains much as in Lorenzetti's panel. But the Simeon instead of facing towards the middle of the picture is turned, as in Gentile's panel, towards the outer edge, and the figure of the Child, as also in Gentile's panel, is reversed. A mere catalogue of alterations such as these, however, can give no conception of the essential difference between the earlier and the later picture. Even in its present damaged condition, Giovanni di Paolo's panel gives us the feeling that the artist has let himself go. The St. Joseph wears yellow, the Simeon's cloak is pink, offset by a lining of deep olive green. The picture in its first state must have been radiant with such contrasts, though to-day the startling floor, the orange veining of the pillars, the primrose-coloured marble slabs let into the altar combine with atrocious restoration to give a sense of rawness which is not altogether pleasant. But the altarpiece seems to have served its purpose well enough, and Bossio ⁵ tells us that on the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin "25 libras cerae" were offered before it annually by the guild.

A second important and very similar treatment of the subject by Giovanni di Paolo is in the Museo del Conservatorio di S. Pietro at Colle di Val d'Elsa ⁶ (Plate XIII_B). The picture is not merely a second version of that painted for the Ospedale; it is the independent result of renewed study of Lorenzetti's original. Its general effect is simpler than that of the Siena *Presentation*. The picture space ends immediately above the arches, the columns in the middle ground being eliminated, the open entrances on either side omitted, and the right-hand vista changed into a straight wall much like that on the left of the earlier picture. The decorative detail is less ebullient. In one unimportant respect, that of the scroll held by the prophetess on the right, the picture represents a reversion to Lorenzetti's arrangement.

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But both as regards the head of the attendant next the Virgin (which is omitted in the Colle picture) and the treatment of the vault, the Siena version is the more faithful to its prototype. It is not necessary to suppose with Trübner⁷ that this new fidelity was in any respect influenced by the painting of the same subject which Sano di Pietro executed at about this time for the Duomo of Massa Marittima. That picture, one of the most interesting and least studied of Sano's productions and datable on stylistic grounds c. 1447, betrays no acquaintance with Gentile da Fabriano's predella panel, while at the same time it introduces modifications of detail into Lorenzetti's scheme (the reversal of the two small statues at the top of the forward columns and the fan-like vaulting of the arch behind) which are paralleled in neither of Giovanni di Paolo's pictures. It remains just conceivable that it antedates both the versions we have been discussing.

Two points may be noticed as showing how intensive was Giovanni's new study for the Colle panel. The white tracery over the central arch, which originates in Gentile's panel does not appear in the Siena picture, and the two Gothic arches to right and left must patently have been suggested by the Gothic points to right and left of the frame of Lorenzetti's altarpiece. Of the independent emendations, the gold ciborium in the background and the use of two types of tiling are the most significant. The colour is subdued. The columns behind support pink capitals; there is a rib of pink over the arches. The sharp, excited contrasts of the dresses of the protagonists of the Siena *Circumcision* have been dulled, and something of its fantastic uncontrol has gone, yet even when we make allowance for the condition of both pictures (that at Colle is relatively little injured) it is difficult to escape the feeling that in his first translation, whatever its separate merits, Giovanni did not do justice to a supreme work of art, while for his second effort he came back chastened to penetrate its mystery.

In the same year that he received the commission for the Pizzicaiuoli *Presentation*, we find a document in the Archivio del Patrimonio

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1445-1463 Ecclesiastico⁸ recording payments made by the Compagnia di S. Bernardino for an altarpiece painted conjointly by Giovanni di Paolo and Sano di Pietro. Neither this picture nor any of the double-sided "drapelloni" of S. Bernardino, which an unpublished document shows to have been ordered by the Ospedale della Scala from Giovanni di Paolo at this time,⁹ have survived. Certainly no traces of the contact with Sano di Pietro are apparent in the earlier *Presentation*—it is hardly conceivable that an artist so personal as Giovanni would have been seriously influenced by one with Sano's conscienceless detachment—but in his next dated work, a polyptych of *St. Nicholas of Bari enthroned between SS. Bernardino, Francis, Clare and Louis of Toulouse* in the Accademia, Siena,¹⁰ we find Giovanni's style approximated in a perceptible degree to Sano's. The picture was finished on December 3rd, 1453; its provenance remains unknown. But in view of the saints and their position it seems likely that the panel came from a Franciscan church, probably S. Francesco itself, in which the altar of St. Nicholas stood between the Tolomei altar (dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen) and the altar of St. Catherine of Alexandria. It can scarcely be mere chance that Bossio, when work on his pastoral inventory took him to S. Francesco, noted on that altar "et iconam pulcrum deauratam cum figura S. Niccolai et aliorum sanctorum in tabula." The central pinnacle of the Redeemer, an accretion of quite a different date to the body of the polyptych, is responsible for the jarring effect which these beautiful panels at first create. The colouring is cool. The Francis and the Bernardino are in light brown, St. Louis over his grey habit wears a dull blue cope. The central figure, the St. Nicholas, sits vested in a white mitre and a crimson cope embellished at the edges with small decorative saints. These are the only small dated works we have from Giovanni di Paolo's hand during these years and it is by them that any scheme for a chronological arrangement of the many predella panels which belong to it must be tested. There is much in these panels that is of quite peculiar beauty,



Madonna and Child with four Saints (*Metropolitan Museum, New York*)

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the severe drawing of the face of the St. Francis, the head of the St. Clare, the cope of the St. Louis, but if we compare the effect of the picture as a whole with that of the polyptychs either of Giovanni's first or last periods we find that visually it is a little dull. 1445-1463

The impression is reinforced by a polyptych showing *The Virgin and Child between a female saint, Augustine, and Nicholas of Tolentino* painted in the following year and now in the Friedsam bequest in the Metropolitan Museum, New York¹¹ (Plate XIV). The extreme left panel of the picture derives from the figure of S. Giulitta, painted by Lippo Memmi as a side-panel for Simone Martini's celebrated *Annunciation* which still stood at this time in the chapel of S. Ansano in the Duomo. The St. Augustine and the St. John as well as the general scheme of the angelic musicians kneeling below the Virgin are Bartolesque. But for all that it is hard to conceal from oneself that the real trouble with both these polyptychs is not that they are too Gothic, but that they are not Gothic enough. We are faced with the indisputable fact that by these years the Gothic feeling of Giovanni's work of less than a decade earlier had virtually disappeared with no substitute ready to replace it. The phenomenon was not a unique occurrence confined to the case of Giovanni di Paolo. The 'fifties of the fifteenth century were on the whole a sterile decade in Siena. Sassetta and Domenico di Bartolo, the motive forces of the first half of the century, were dead, and Sano di Pietro, these primary contacts withdrawn, had had to declare himself an intellectual bankrupt. Such a fate did not overtake Giovanni di Paolo, but in the polyptychs of 1453 and 1454 we see him in a more real danger of stylistic stratification than he had been before or was to be again. For him the phase was both transient and transitional. That it was so was due partly to native genius, but still more to his ability and willingness to draw on the capital of his own visual background. At this juncture Giovanni was saved by a recrudescence of the Taddesque formulæ against which Domenico di Bartolo and to a less extent Sassetta had reacted.

1445-1463

The right-hand panel of the Friedsam polyptych seems to have formed the basis of a *St. Nicholas of Tolentino* in the church of S. Agostino, Montepulciano, signed and dated 1456.¹² The Montepulciano version is considerably the finer. Standing, as S. Bernardino often stands, on a microcosmic world, holding in his left hand a lily and an open book and supported by a throng of crimson cherubim, the Saint with his gaze of fanatical intensity is a magnificently austere creation. The inscription, which is untouched and runs across the centre of the bottom of the panel, shows that the figure was not merely the side-panel of a polyptych. Single votive panels of saints are infrequent and confined for the most part to S. Bernardino. For the artist the difficulty of St. Nicholas of Tolentino seems to have been the paucity of his legend, and it is not therefore surprising to find him assuming in a votive panel of this type some of the attributes of S. Bernardino just as in predella panels he seems to have assimilated episodes from the life of St. Nicholas of Bari.

In the following year Giovanni completed yet another important altarpiece of which two panels in the Municipio of Castiglione Fiorentino showing a *Madonna and Child* (Plate VIIb), and *St. Catherine of Alexandria*¹³ formed part. The background of both panels is gold, the ground proper dark and marbled. The Virgin, seated on a stone throne, holds the Child towards the left; His extended arm suggests that the fingers once held a ring (the Catherine's arm also is outstretched). The Virgin's crimson velvet dress is covered by a dark blue cloak lined with green. The Child wears a scarlet tunic bound with a white belt; on His knees there rests a crown. At the front of the throne on the right the edge of a black and brown fretted panel is visible. The flesh of both figures is broadly painted and the lights, on the Virgin's knuckles and elsewhere, are heavily indicated in white. The St. Catherine once stood immediately to the left of the central panel. On the floor lies her broken wheel. A bright green cloak with a yellowish edging and white lining covers a crimson dress; on

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her fair hair she wears a crown with a thin grey band across the forehead. Both pictures came from the Collegiata of Castiglione Fiorentino. With them may be associated two further panels of female saints, published by Perkins ¹⁴ as in a private collection at Bagnorea, near Viterbo, representing St. Clare (not St. Catherine of Alexandria) and St. Scholastica. The general arrangement of the haloes and the wooden frames above coincide with those of the Castiglione Fiorentino *Madonna*. Both the panels show donors, St. Clare a vested monk and St. Scholastica a group of nuns. They would, therefore, originally have been the end panels of a polyptych. Had they formed part of it, the altarpiece of Castiglione Fiorentino would then have shown, in this order, *St. Clara* (Bagnorea), *St. Catherine of Alexandria* (Castiglione Fiorentino), *Madonna* (Castiglione Fiorentino), another saint (lost), and *St. Scholastica* (Bagnorea). Small purpose can be served by guesses at the identity of the missing saint. Altarpieces showing the two St. Catherines are not unknown (Bossio ¹⁵ for example noted one on the Burgarini altar in S. Francesco), but such an arrangement is scarcely conceivable four years before the canonisation of St. Catherine of Siena.

In the year in which St. Catherine was canonised work was begun on the decorations of the side-altars of Rossellino's newly erected cathedral at Pienza. The four leading Sienese painters of the day were summoned to undertake commissions there. The youngest of them, Matteo di Giovanni, was aged twenty-six, the oldest, Giovanni di Paolo and Sano di Pietro, fifty-eight and fifty-five respectively. Between the two generations stood Vecchietta, who was nine years younger than Giovanni di Paolo and twenty-three years older than Matteo. The fact that Giovanni di Paolo was in point of years the doyen of this corps of artists has given rise to a suggestion that he was responsible for the general direction of the work. That unquestionably was not the case. The error, to which both Trübner and Hartlaub are parties,¹⁶ arose from an ambiguous document printed

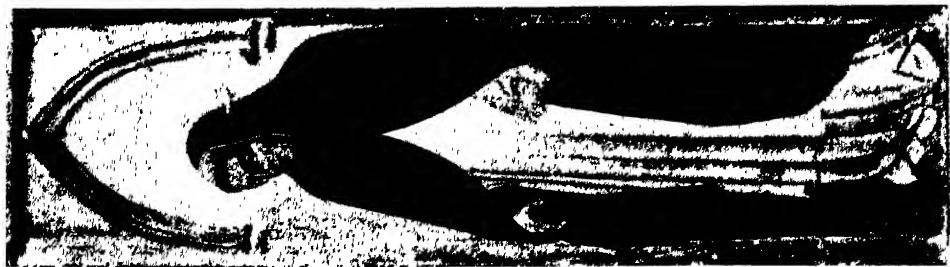
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1445-1463 in extenso by Manucci¹⁷ which describes how, on November 8th, 1462, "ducati dugiento settantotto e grossi sei e den. 3½ a Misser Giovanni per dare alli dipentori che fanno le tavole delli altari di pientia al miniatore che mina li libri della chiesa e per li organi che si fanno per la chiesa di pientia." The fact that this "Misser Giovanni" is not described as a painter and is in addition in charge of the payments for other than pictorial work precludes his being identified with Giovanni di Paolo. It is worth noting that the writer of this document in referring to the altarpieces uses the present tense. One of the pictures, that of Sano di Pietro, was probably completed before Pius II's visits to the town in September and November, 1462, but Vecchietta, who was responsible for other pictures in the neighbourhood, and Matteo di Giovanni, from whom two pictures had been commissioned for the cathedral itself, doubtless worked on well into the following year. At an uncertain date in 1463 Giovanni di Paolo too completed his single contribution, a *Virgin and Child enthroned with SS. Bernardino, Anthony the Abbot, Francis and a Female Saint* surmounted by a lunette of the Deposition, and inscribed: "opus JOHANNES DE S . . . CCLXIII"¹⁸ (Plate XVI).

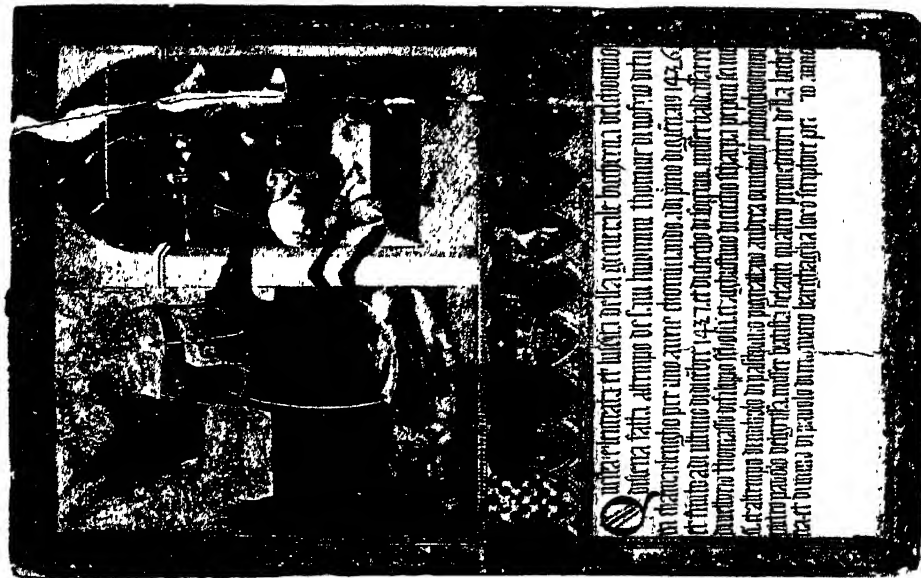
In the lunette the Virgin, in a blue cloak and a dull grey dress, bends with four angels over the dead Christ's body. To right and left are stretches of arid grey ground. The drawing of Christ's body recalls the scheme evolved by Pietro Lorenzetti. The success of motifs in Sienese painting was in the ratio of the painter's ability to invest a three-dimensional object with a characteristic and individual two-dimensional interest. That Lorenzetti in his treatment of Christ's body had achieved. The general outline of his composition had been taken over by Giovanni di Paolo in the early Passion predella in the Vatican Gallery, but there is at root little in common between the simple statement of the smaller pictures and the resource with which in the later lunette the painter contrives by twisting the body forward above the hips to arrange its lines along one plane. Its dead colouring



B, Pier Pettinagno
(Mr. Robert Lehman,
New York)



B, Ambrogio Sansedoni
(Mr. Robert Lehman,
New York)



Biccherna Cover : Death and the Dice-Players
(Schlosmuseum, Berlin)

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is repeated in the picture proper. The Virgin's blue, gold-edged cloak covers a gold dress studded with crescent moons of the Piccolomini crest. She holds the Child in a loin-cloth of white and gold. The habits of the three male saints are relieved only by the blue emblem of the St. Bernardino and St. Anthony's yellow staff and scarlet book. The paved floor is gold and the cherubim supporting the invisible throne crimson. 1445-1463

One fact gives Giovanni di Paolo's Pienza altarpiece a peculiar importance. The picture is painted on a single panel, edged on either side with columns, surmounted as we have seen with an architectural lunette and surmounting a makeshift predella. It thus represents, so far as we can now tell, the artist's first attempt to assimilate his own art to the fashions of the Renaissance. There is no need to emphasise here how far the principles of mature Renaissance design were the product of changed schematic requirements. In Florence the science of painting advanced primarily because an open picture space made specifically scientific advances possible. In Siena, on the other hand, the retention of the Gothic frame implied the retention of a Gothic scheme and was therefore among the older generation the main barrier to formal progress. Where you had altarpieces composed of three or five panels with pointed tops, the disposition of the figures inside them could only follow a stereotyped and self-consistent course. The type of picture which Giovanni di Paolo was called on to paint at Pienza was one presupposing a capacity for unified large-scale composition with which he was poorly endowed. For Matteo di Giovanni, who had been born into the full Renaissance, the issue did not arise; for Sano di Pietro who had already as early as 1455 (in a *Maestà* in the Siena Accademia, no. 273) made a pretence of taking over the Renaissance principle, it occurred, but in a modified form.¹⁹ Giovanni di Paolo neither solved the problems it presented with the success of Matteo nor evaded them with Sano's tact. But he seems to have recognised that such a composition entailed the transmutation of an ideal of linear in-

1445-1463 terest into one of an illusory three-dimensional solidity, a psychological and literary integration. In type the four saints are unusually thick-set, and the three men are actual participants in the scene. But—and this is typical of the painter's essentially conservative outlook—the female figure, the same unknown saint who appears in the Friedsam polypych, is repeated with only the most trivial alterations from the earlier altarpiece and therefore faces away from the focus of interest, a detached intruder on an otherwise animated episode.

But while the formal modifications introduced in this picture into Giovanni di Paolo's style are significant and striking, the most important indications the altarpiece affords a student of Giovanni di Paolo's chronology are in respect of colour; the tone of the picture is thin and ashen. It would be nevertheless unjustifiable to attribute the colouristic phenomenon manifested in the Pienza panel to the sudden adoption of a thinner palette. Well before 1463 Giovanni di Paolo's work shows signs of an organic change, and the true landmark for any chronological redistribution inside the period remains not the Pienza altarpiece but the Castiglione Fiorentino *Madonna*, which, while it retains certain of the formal constants of the earlier years of the decade (the Lorenzettian type of the Child for example), is more heavily and more sensuously painted than any of Giovanni di Paolo's previous works.²⁰ Between 1457, the date of the Castiglione Fiorentino polypych, and 1463, the year of the Pienza altarpiece, Giovanni di Paolo's progress towards a diminution and subtilising of his colour values may be assumed to have proceeded in gradual stages.

With these facts before our minds certain deductions with regard to the predella panels of this period present themselves. As we have seen, no small panel in the period is securely dated. But we are now in a position to say (i) that it would be curious if the changes in technique and colour we have mentioned were not fairly closely paralleled by similar changes in Giovanni's small pictures, and (ii) that in view of the way in which after 1445 Giovanni's large pictures become progres-

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sively less realistic and more specifically calligraphic, it would be odd if the compositions and particularly the landscapes of his small paintings had not at this time become correspondingly conceptualised. 1445-1463

Before we proceed to fit into the framework we have constructed the many undated pictures of these decades, one further issue demands discussion. There is a current belief that at an uncertain date, probably about 1460, Giovanni di Paolo's style was radically and beneficially influenced by the example of Vecchietta. But I have been unable to trace a definite formal analogy between any picture by Vecchietta and any picture of any period by Giovanni di Paolo. It is, however, very likely that Giovanni di Paolo felt Vecchietta's influence in the 'sixties in the same general way in which in the 'fifties he had responded to the influence of Sano. Vecchietta's colour, perhaps because he was primarily a fresco painter, was consistently weaker than that of any other Sienese artist, and we may tentatively suggest that it is Vecchietta's example which is implicit in the diminution of Giovanni di Paolo's colours between 1457 and 1470.

* * * * *

Some large undated pictures can be arranged round the dated panels we have already discussed. A *Madonna and Child* surmounted by a *Crucifixion* in the Church of S. Simeone, Rocca d'Orcia,²¹ may be placed rather later than the Uffizi *Madonna*, perhaps shortly after 1445.

The design depends closely on that of the earlier polyptych. The Virgin's rich gold dress is brought forward with the same strange sweep, and the type of the Child and the actual quality of the pigment are very similar, the tiled floor and the Child's pose alone being radically different. The picture is not strictly a *Madonna of Humility*. As in the Uffizi picture the Virgin seems seated on an invisible throne and is supported on either side by a winged cherubim. In front of the picture are two small figures of the Annunciation, the types closely resembling those of the New York *Paradiso*.

Another *Madonna* of this date in the collection of Mr. George Blu-

1445-1463 menthal²² (Plate IXA) has something of the compactness and poise of the Rocca d'Orcia picture. The Child is precisely similar in both save that in the Blumenthal picture the Virgin's hand is placed between His legs. Behind is a red and gold chequered curtain reminiscent of Fra Angelico, and on the floor an oriental design. The Virgin over her red and gold brocaded dress wears a dark blue mantle lined with green with a gold border and decorated with gold stars. In the draperies of the Child and of the angels to each side, the dominant colour is pink. The Virgin is seated on a cushion, and the angels standing, one in front and one behind it, give the composition the diagonal character we find sometimes in Sassetta.²³ In the left foreground is a kneeling monastic donor and below him a line of tracery which strongly recalls the *Presentation* of 1447-8.

Two other Madonnas with no such intrinsic interest are probably a little later in date. In the church of S. Salvatore, Istia d'Ombrone near Grosseto, is a *Madonna and Child*²⁴ of a rather similar kind, described by Van Marle²⁵ as "unrefined" but in fact very little more broadly painted than the Uffizi picture. A heavily repainted *Madonna and Child with two Angels* at Montenero, Monte Amiata,²⁶ must also be placed before 1450. Considerable imagination is required to discern the original complexion of this picture. The two angels which appear at the back are reminiscent of Sassetta's Chiusdino *Madonna*, but I believe that the type of the Virgin, so far as it can be made out, makes a dating at a later moment inevitable.

We mentioned in the first chapter a reproduction of the Boston *Madonna in a Landscape* in the Siena gallery. It was indicated there in what respects the Siena version departed from the original, that the landscape was more schematic and the linear rhythm less suave. The most signal differences then pointed out were the type of the Child, smooth-haired, with a egg-shaped head and arms bent in conventionalised wrinkles, the hand of the Virgin supporting the Child, the fingers indicated mainly in high lights giving a claw-like effect, and the tech-



Madonna and Child with four Saints (*Duomo, Pienza*)

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nique of the flesh painting. In all these points the picture approaches the Castiglione Fiorentino *Madonna* of 1457 and may be dated with conviction only a little earlier. The painting of the Virgin's eyes and hair, the broad light down the centre of the nose and the illuminated upper lip present the closest analogies. The picture was the result perhaps of a commission for a direct copy of the earlier composition. 1445-1463

In the second half of this period must be placed two paintings more interesting than any of these. The first of them, a large *Holy Family*, showing the Annunciation to the Shepherds in the background, is in the collection of the Prince Primate of Hungary at Esztergom (Plate XXVI B). God the Father appears in the frame above. His robe is dull green; His hair and beard are grizzled. His hands are thrust out before Him and His head, in type reminiscent of many of Giovanni's other bearded figures, is inclined slightly to the left, His drapery falling on either side in planned complexity. The sky in the picture proper is dark blue fading to white as it touches the grey and yellow hills behind. The foreground is brownish, shading to grey green and even to very pale green at the extreme front. In the left front there stands a shed of light brown wood with a thatched roof through which the sky is visible, the beams supporting the thatch tied together with what seem pieces of pale yellow string. The grey-haired St. Joseph wears a pink dress and a deep yellow cloak; his left hand is heavily veined. The Virgin too (her hair is fair) wears a pink dress under a cloak of an indeterminate blue-green colour; the little finger of her left hand is crossed under the fourth finger. The naked Child lies asleep on the end of her mantle. The contours of the nude are firm, the form somewhat distended. The figure with its heavy lights on the fingers, its thick red lips, and its carefully drawn eyes is a deliberately realistic study. This picture, one of Giovanni's most impressive works, is conceived with immense care—witness the carefully studied dog, a large bull-terrier, the knots in the peasants' staves, the gesticulations of surprise of one of the brown-clad shepherds. The figures of

1445-1463 the shepherds have an obvious resemblance to figures in a group of predella panels which as we shall see must be dated *c.* 1456. There are other reasons for dating this picture in the late 'fifties. The most important of them is the colour scheme, dull, in places almost muddy, and extremely well adjusted. The successful reproduction of an effect of sudden illumination represents an achievement towards which Giovanni had struggled often and vainly. The composition, which depends in the last resort on Gentile da Fabriano's familiar design, may profitably be compared with that of a panel of the same subject in the Frick collection, New York, which we shall discuss below.

Rather later in date, *c.* 1460, is a polyptych in the Siena Accademia showing *The Madonna and Child with SS. Peter Damiani, Thomas, Clare and Ursula*.²⁷ On top of it are panels showing *The Communion of the Magdalen* and *The Stigmatisation of St. Francis* and a pinnacle of the Redeemer. The provenance of the polyptych is not known, nor does there seem any basis of tradition for assuming that its present very strange construction is the correct one. The height of the panels is rather less than that of most altarpieces of this type (the lateral saints appear two on each panel) and the figures are consequently rather smaller. The pinnacle of the *Christ in Benediction*, which is half the height of the central panel and in scale considerably larger than any of the lateral saints, can scarcely have belonged to this polyptych. It would be difficult, too, to find a parallel case for two large narrative scenes attached to a polyptych in which there figures neither of the saints concerned. The two upper scenes and perhaps the pinnacle may be dated *c.* 1450. It is curious in view of the popularity of the Franciscan legend that this is Giovanni di Paolo's only *Stigmatisation*. Particularly in a photograph (the surface of the panel is a little raw) it is impossible not to be struck by the deep imaginative qualities of the conception and the impressive turbulence with which nature reflects the ecstasy of the saint. The body of the polyptych would acquire a more distinctive character if stripped of its accretions.

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The dress of the Virgin is heavily repainted; in other respects the panels have been very little restored. The type of the Virgin stands midway between those of the Castiglione Fiorentino and Pienza *Madonnas*. As against both the Castiglione and Friedsam pictures it marks a return to the theory of a self-contained silhouette—the Madonna and Child in other words bounded by one unbroken line—such as we find it in a less emphatic form in the Blumenthal *Madonna*. The Child, facing inwards and placing His face against the Virgin's cheek, gives the scheme an interest and intimacy which the Friedsam *Madonna* is without. The two female figures on the right are, from the point of view of draughtsmanship, as fine and clean as the magnificent left panels of the *Nicholas of Bari*. 1445-1463

There remains a number of single panels, in some cases of considerable importance, which may with one exception be dated c. 1450. The Musée de Besançon owns a large single figure of St. Augustine enthroned,²⁸ offering with his right hand a copy of his rule to a nimbed member of the groups of friars who kneel to either side, and holding in his left hand a closed book. He wears a mitre and an elaborate cope over his habit; below a step in front there lies the figure of Averroes holding a scroll inscribed with a tag from Aristotle: "Dicimus mundum esse eternum, non habere neque principium neque finem. Aristoteles." The whole panel has been extensively and carefully repainted, but the sections which are untouched, the putti, the angels and the garlands ornamenting the throne, are strongly reminiscent of the decorative detail of the Siena *Presentation* of 1447-8. The decoration of the upper arch is precisely similar to that of the Colle *Presentation*, and the shape of the panel (a rectangle throwing up a central arch with pinnacles on either side) is obviously reminiscent of the plan of the Lorenzetti *Presentation*.

The version of *The Coronation of the Virgin* in the Lehman collection, New York²⁹ (Plate XVII), was mentioned cursorily in our first chapter. The design does not depart in any essential particular from that

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1445-1463 of the picture in S. Andrea, Siena. But one would judge it to be both better preserved and more attractive in colour. If Giovanni di Paolo felt no obligation in 1445 to adapt his design in the light of that produced by Domenico di Bartolo for the Palazzo Pubblico, still less did he admit the necessity for so doing in this rather later and far more sensitive repetition. The Virgin has a white and gold cloak lined with dark green over a crimson dress, the Christ a pink robe and a dull blue mantle. The grey stone throne contrasts with bronze brocaded velvet and green cushions. Colouristically the panel must be one of the most beautiful of Giovanni's large productions. The author of the Lehman catalogue suggests that the picture is "undoubtedly a late work," a term often used of Giovanni di Paolo as of other painters without any certain definition of its meaning. On the basis of good reproductions I cannot conceive of this picture having been painted later than the very early 'fifties.

The head of Christ in the Lehman *Coronation* may be compared with that of the same figure above an *Assumption* in the Servanzi-Collio collection, San Severino.³⁰ The surface of this picture has been a good deal damaged and the bottom cut. On the left two of the heads of the angels surrounding the Virgin are new but the remainder suggest a dating at much the same moment as the Lehman panel. The composition is reduced to its simplest form (Christ and prophets above, cherubim round the Virgin and angels below her), and as a result the central figure occupies an unusually large part of the picture space. Her white dress is stamped with a dark design which we shall find repeated in a later painting by Giovanni of the same subject.

A single figure of *St. Nicholas of Bari* in the Siena Accademia³¹ may also be dated in these years. The saint is shown kneeling on a dragon, wearing a reddish gold cope patterned in blue and white. The small embroidered figures ornamenting its border seem rather earlier than similar figures in the *St. Nicholas of Bari* polyptych of 1453. At the same date may be placed a panel of *St. Andrew*.³² This has been



The Coronation of the Virgin (Mr. Philip Lehman, New York)

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wrongly associated by Van Marle with the very early panel of *St. James* 1445-1463 in the same gallery (no. 214) and dated by Brandi "prossimo alla pala di Pienza." It does not seem originally to have been a mere half-length figure; the way in which part of the dress is visible at the bottom of the panel on the left suggests that St. Andrew, like St. Nicholas, was shown kneeling.

Very considerably later, c. 1456, is a single figure of *St. John the Baptist*³³ in the collection of Mr. Henry Harris. The saint wears a dull pink cloak which falls in lines reminiscent of those of the Castiglione Fiorentino *St. Catherine of Alexandria*. The panel has the same richness of technique as the *St. Catherine* though, as being smaller, the paint is rather more refined in quality. It gives a more favourable impression than any of the pictures listed above of the sensory properties of much of Giovanni's work at this time. Two fine single panels of saints in the Robert Lehman collection, New York (Plate XVA), are more rigid and datable probably soon after 1460. The iconographical resemblances between these figures and two of the saints on Vecchietta's *Arliquiera* in the Siena Accademia (no. 204), *BB. Pier Pettinagno* and *Ambrogio Sansedoni*, make it possible that these panels originally formed part of some similar undertaking.

* * * * *

The glory of Giovanni di Paolo's middle period remains his predella panels. They form, in a sense in which it can be said of none other of his works, a unique contribution to the art of painting, and it is on them that any defence of his claim to permanent consideration must found itself.

The fragments of what seem to be four predellas may be placed between 1445 and 1453. The first and apparently the earliest of these can be reconstructed as having consisted of a panel showing *The Clothing of St. Anthony* in the Vatican Gallery,³⁴ *The Apparition of St. Francis to St. Anthony* in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena,³⁵ and probably of two further panels in the Palazzo Chigi, Rome, showing *The*

1445-1463 *Levitation of a Franciscan Saint*, and *The Care of a Franciscan Saint for the Poor*.³⁶ The Vatican panel is attractive. Across it runs a line of convent buildings, white in substance, faced with shades of pink, deep in the interior, light on the central roof, yet paler on the wall in front. Above the blue sky is clear save for the birds which circle round a group of cypresses seen over the monastic wall. At the extreme left are two acolytes, and next them in the middle of the picture, two Dominican priests, who look down at a kneeling figure on the point of receiving the Franciscan habit from a standing friar. Another Franciscan on the right offers the postulant a girdle.³⁷ The panel in Siena is an unsatisfactory version of Giotto's Assisi composition. The dark sky pales as it reaches the balustrade of a balcony behind. The straight external face of the chamber is grey, the under-roof of the balcony a rich yellowish brown, decorated with patterned strips of blue, white and red. The habits are offset by the orange-pink of the floor. It seems likely, as the rest of Giovanni di Paolo's *œuvre* reveals no single Giottesque contact, that the derivation from Giotto in this case took place *a seconda mano*.³⁸ The symmetrical partitioning of the back wall between a door and two windows, the poses of the central figures, and the treatment of one or two of the monks are wholly Giottesque, but inside the general scheme variations are used to counteract the inherent geometricism of Giotto's composition.

Of much the same date is a long predella panel of *The Crucifixion* in the Central Museum, Utrecht.³⁹ The picture is perhaps the first to afford full adumbrations of the qualities of the magic world, on the fringes of which Giovanni di Paolo passed much of his later life. Its colour—the range covers brown, ochre, dull pink, blue and crimson—and the use of light to assist the modelling,⁴⁰ in the body, for example, of the full-face Christ, give it the character of a personal document. An effect of space is obtained by confining the onlookers to each edge of the panel, and the abnormally wide composition is unified by the repetition in reverse order on one side of colours used already on the



The Adoration of the Magi (*The Mellon Trust, Washington*)

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other. The head of the Christ with its down-turned mouth and shut eyes, is treated with a sensibility the St. Anthony panels would scarcely have led us to anticipate. The figure of the Virgin on the left has a quite extraordinary tension; her eyes closed, she leans back as she stretches out her arms towards St. John, while Longinus points to his own breast and gazes at the cross with a fixity which leaves an impression of great feeling. 1445-1463

Of the same proportions though not of the same size is a predella panel showing the *Adoration of the Magi*, formerly in the Simon collection, Berlin, and now in the possession of the Mellon Trust⁴¹ (Plate XVIII). Though there is no absolute similarity, certain iconographical features from Gentile's *Adoration* remain. Among them we may note the bearded king, who supports himself in a kneeling position by placing one hand on the ground, the Child, who puts His hand on the king's head, the two female attendants behind the Virgin, and the elaborately clothed king standing in the centre. The importance of the wide landscape in the background of this very beautiful picture will be discussed below. The same height as the Mellon *Adoration* and almost exactly half its width is a graphic panel of *A Miracle of St. Peter* in the Lehman collection, New York.⁴² It seems from reproduction to date from this moment in Giovanni's career and is generally described as *The Raising of Tabitha*.

An *Assumption of the Virgin with St. Ansanus and another Saint*⁴³ and an *Entombment of the Virgin with two Saints*, the first owned by P. Bottenwieser, the second in the Rheinisches Museum, Cologne, formed part of a single predella. As the heads of the saints in the first picture are both turned to the left and those in the second to the right, it seems likely that the central panel was a *Crucifixion*, probably in many respects similar to the *Crucifixion at Utrecht*.⁴⁴ A figure in a dark cloak at the left of the Utrecht *Crucifixion* recurs in the Cologne *Entombment*, and the landscape is much the same as that which appears in the Bottenwieser *Assumption*. The composition of the *En-*

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1445-1463 *tombment* has a certain originality and charm, but incomparably the most beautiful part of each panel are the half-length saints which divided one compartment of the predella from the next. Less rigid in pose than Giovanni's earlier types, they are infused with a genuine and unmistakable devotion.

It is unfortunate that the only one of Giovanni di Paolo's predellas still in its original position should rank with his weakest works.⁴⁵ In the Sienese church of S. Stefano alla Lizza, for which it was commissioned, it shows *The Nurture of St. Stephen*, *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, *Miraculous Events at the Tomb of St. Stephen*, a *Crucifixion with the Virgin and SS. John, Bernardino and Jerome*, an unidentified scene from the life of St. Bernardino, *St. Bernardino inspired by St. Augustine*, and *A Vision of St. Bernardino*. The panels were commissioned to go below the polyptych completed by Andrea Vanni for the church in 1400. The rather official hagiographic character of the Bernardino scenes can hardly admit of a date earlier than the saint's canonisation in 1450; it may well have been that the occurrence decided the authorities of the church to order a predella commemorative of the saint.⁴⁶ Nor can one believe that Giovanni di Paolo paid much attention to its execution. The figures of the Virgin and St. John, for example, are repeated, one from the Berlin *Crucifixion*, no. 1112c, the other from the Altenburg *Crucifixion*, no. 77,⁴⁷ and the other panels, though more ambitious, seem to suffer from a similar lassitude.⁴⁸

A group of four finer panels may be referred to the *St. Nicholas of Bari* polyptych, and therefore dated c. 1453. Of special local charm are two scenes from the life of St. Ansanus, *St. Ansanus Baptising* in the gallery of the Prince Primate of Hungary at Esztergom,⁴⁹ and *The Decapitation of St. Ansanus* in the Carrand Bequest, Museo Nazionale, Florence.⁵⁰ The episodes are brilliantly visualised. In the background of the baptismal scene are seen the pink walls of the town of Siena, its identity established by appearance of two small black and white shields on the gate-posts. To the left in the pale green fore-

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ground stands the saint, behind him a wooden pail from which he draws water to pour over the heads of three men kneeling stripped to the waist before him. Other figures in the crowd on the right are in the act of disrobing. The *Decapitation* which takes place in a landscape, is less arresting. Intersected with a winding river and lightened with a clump of palm trees, the view is backed by smooth grey hills. On the right are a group of foot-soldiers and a horseman who carries the black and silver banner of Siena, on the left an orange-clad executioner and in the centre the kneeling saint, before him three small pools of water.

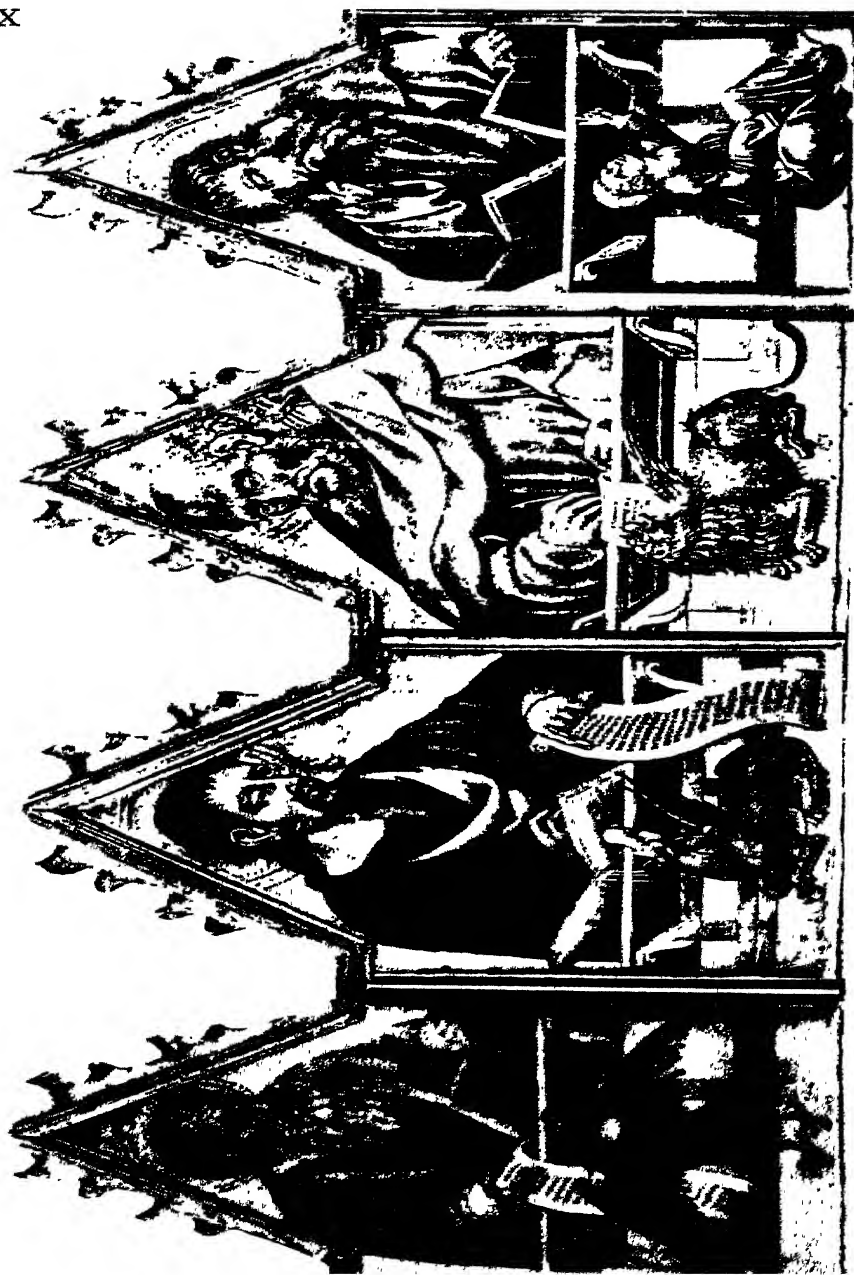
The figure of the executioner in this panel may be compared with those of two participants in a small picture of *St. Nicholas of Tolentino appearing over the Walls of a Town* in the Vienna Akademie.⁵¹ With this panel belongs a *Miraculous Appearance of St. Nicholas during a Storm at Sea* in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia⁵² (Plate XXIII A). The subject of both panels has been misinterpreted, the first being described as referring alternatively to SS. Anthony or Dominic.⁵³ It is an elaborate and beautiful interpretation. The sky at the top is almost black, fading to dark green and a disturbed blue. The saint's scanty white hair is silhouetted against a copper-coloured halo. The yellowish white buildings, the grey cornices, the light brown shutters, the pink roofs, the dull dome, the pale blue lines which intersect the irregular tiling of the pavement, form an enchanting setting, from the back of which a procession, a blue-clad priest, two candle-bearers, and two men carrying a scarlet coffin, advances.

The second panel is better known. The conception shows the same vigour and the lighting the same brilliant realism. Together with another small predella panel, a *Miracle of St. Clare*, formerly in the Fuld collection, it represents Giovanni di Paolo's only attempt at marine painting. Both confess distant familiarity with Gentile da Fabriano's *Miracle of St. Nicholas* in the Vatican Gallery or Bicci di Lorenzo's imitation in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The John-

1445-1463 son picture, which is probably three or four years anterior to the other, is of such different proportions to the panel in the Vatican that Giovanni, had he wished to do so, could scarcely have contented himself with a straightforward copy of Gentile's composition. One feature, a swimming mermaid in the foreground, he retained. But how different is the spirit, how great the contrast between Gentile's equable tempest, and the lurid, tortured shapes formed by Giovanni's heaving waves. Stylistically both Nicholas panels certainly belong to the years round 1456 (Weigelt⁵⁴ suggested a date as late as 1460 for that in Vienna), and like the Besançon *St. Augustine* and a small panel of *St. Nicholas* of Tolentino in the Robert Lehman collection,⁵⁵ would have formed part of a series of commissions from some Augustinian community.

In the neighbourhood of these pictures (1450-5) may be grouped a superb *Martyrdom of St. John Evangelist* in the Martin le Roy collection, Paris,⁵⁶ which like the Nicholas panels, evidences Giovanni di Paolo's close observation at this time of ordinary life. A man in brown stoking a fire under the cauldron, in which the nude saint stands, and two peasants who advance from the side carrying olives and apples, are models of tactile veracity.

Four scenes from the life of *St. Clare* seem to be later in date. These are (i) *The Clothing of St. Clare by St. Francis*, in the Fuld collection, Frankfurt,⁵⁷ (ii) *St. Clare blessing the three Loaves*, in the Jarves collection, New Haven (as *St. Catherine of Siena implores the Pope to return to Rome*),⁵⁸ (iii) *St. Clare saving a Ship in Distress*, in the Fuld collection,⁵⁹ and (iv) *St. Clare resuscitating a Child mauled by a Wolf*, in the possession of Mr. P. S. Straus, New York.⁶⁰ All the scenes are reduced to their simplest narrative terms. The setting of the first is much what one would expect it to be, a pink monastic building, an altar on the right and a door into a cloister planted with cypresses on the left. To the right of the centre kneels the saint, before *St. Francis* and two attendants clad in the Franciscan habit. In his refectory the Pope, vested in cope and tiara, accompanied by two Cardinals and



St. John Evangelist
*Walraf-Richartz Museum,
 Cologne*

St. Luke
(Mr. Samuel Kress, New York)

St. Mark
(Accademia, Siena)

St. Matthew
(Szepmúvészeti Múzeum, Budapest)

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attended by an acolyte, hears the kneeling Clare's petition. Reference 1445-1463 has already been made to the relationship between the Johnson *Tempesta* and Gentile da Fabriano's *Miracle of St. Nicholas*. In the case of the third panel of the present predella the connection though manifest is less intimate. The general proportions of the panel are more nearly identical with Gentile's, but the differences of detail are striking. The saint appears from the right not the left side, the swimming mermaid of the Nicholas panel is omitted, the sailors are sunk in the ship, their heads alone being visible above its edge, and the surrounding waves—how little like Gentile's!—are finished with thin white lines ending in spots of paint to represent their spray. The greater body of the fourth panel is taken up with a wide expanse of country, which shows the evolved landscape formulæ of Giovanni di Paolo's maturity in extended operation for the first time.

A photograph can show more adequately than any description in what these formulæ consist. Indeed, so striking is the contrast between the gentle undulating landscapes of Giovanni's earlier panels and the severe rather theoretical precision of the patterned fields and roads in such a picture as the Straus *Miracle of St. Clare* that we are at first sight tempted to regard this extension of Giovanni's style as attributable to the action of some wholly new exterior influence. But when we look for such an influence none is forthcoming. The jagged mountains which rise out of the plain are of a type we find in Florence in Starnina's *Thebaid* or the predella panels of Lorenzo Monaco. The case of the plain itself is different. Florence no more than any other Italian centre affords a prototype. Single instances (Uccello's *St. George* in the Musée Jacquemart André, for example) it is possible to find, but no close analogy presents itself. It is just conceivable that Giovanni may have seen in Florence some picture by Uccello which suggested to him this new departure in his style. But in the absence of such an example we are bound to assume that this apparently idiosyncratic development was in fact absolutely individual.

Nor if we cast back our minds through Giovanni di Paolo's work need we find difficulty in explaining it. In earlier pictures—the Boston *Madonna* is a case in point—his mind while strictly naturalistic and perceptual had obviously been attracted by the geometrical qualities of fields and roads and rivers. But the richness of his detail prevented his pursuing a course of formularisation earlier. Landscapes intersected irregularly by rivers, spotted with hills and trees and bushes, cannot in the nature of things be reduced to mere geometrical symbols. The condition for such a transformation is extreme simplicity and selectivity. The landscape in the left corner of the Mellon *Adoration of the Magi* may in some respects be regarded as transitional. That is to say it preserves a considerable body of detail which obscures its essentially geometrical character. The landscape of the Straus *Miracle* is the landscape of the *Adoration* with detail omitted. But it is also something more. The example of the Mellon *Adoration* and the Boston *Madonna* would lead one to conclude that the formula was derived from looking down on country from some eminence, the pictorial equivalent of an aerial photograph. The interesting thing about the Straus *Miracle* is that it shows the painter for the first time adopting the method he had derived from observation of this kind as a way of representing a flat, unincidental surface. The landscape of the *Miracle of St. Clare* is imagined from a height, but the actual point of vision is on its own level. These few sentences may well serve as preface to a consideration of the greatest of all Giovanni di Paolo's creations.

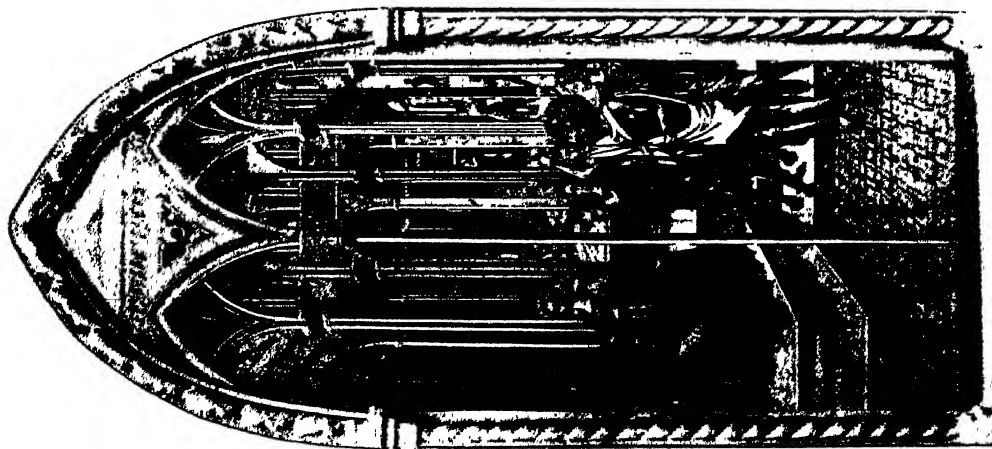
The series of *Six Scenes from the Life of St. John the Baptist* which forms part of the Ryerson Bequest in the Art Institute of Chicago constitutes Giovanni di Paolo's most original achievement. The six panels are of uniform size (68 × 38 cm.); they represent *St. John entering the Desert* (Plate XXI), *The Meeting of Christ and St. John* (Plate XXB), *St. John in Prison*, *Salome kneeling before Herod*, *The Execution of St. John* (Plate XXIIA), and *Salome presenting Herod with*



(b)

(a) St. John Baptist
preaching before Herod
(Landesmuseum, Münster-
in-Westphalen).

(b) The Meeting of St.
John Baptist with Christ
(Art Institute, Chicago).



(a)

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Baptist's Head (Plate XXII B).⁶¹ We know in addition four other panels with scenes from the life of St. John of the same point of stylistic development and of approximately the same dimensions. These are *The Angel Gabriel Announcing to Zacharias the Birth of a Son*, in the Lehman Collection, New York,⁶² *The Naming of St. John the Baptist* and *St. John before Herod*, in the Landesmuseum, Münster-Westphalen (Plate XX A),⁶³ and *The Preaching of St. John* in the Vallo collection, Tours.⁶⁴ The first three of these pictures have been cut at the top; the last is cut at top and bottom.

Three attempts have been made to reassemble the panels. The first, that of Schubring, claimed that the two panels at Münster and that in the Lehman collection formed the three visible sides of a ciborium on the altar of a baptistery, while the six scenes in the Chicago made six sides of an octagonal ciborium.⁶⁵ This reconstruction may be dismissed on grounds of sheer improbability. It is left to De Nicola⁶⁶ to point out that the scenes as they stood could not be self-sufficient. The pivotal scene of St. John's career, *The Baptism of Christ*, was omitted, while on the analogy of other such polyptychs (the St. Francis polyptych painted by Sassetta for Borgo S. Sepolcro in 1437-44) narrative panels of this type may be said generally to have centred round a larger panel showing a single figure of the saint. De Nicola visualised the scenes as forming part of a rigid altarpiece, of which the pinnacles were formed by the Münster and Lehman panels and the predella by the Chicago series. The objections to this reconstruction have been admirably summarised by Lionello Venturi.⁶⁷ The most important of them is this—that on the back of the Lehman panel is an *Annunciatory Angel*, which would never have been visible had the form of the polyptych been rigid as De Nicola had supposed. Venturi divided the panels left to us to-day between two mobile wings. These would have consisted originally of six panels each, arranged in three tiers of two. In the left wing would have stood *The Annunciation to Zacharias*, *The Naming of St. John*, *St. John*

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1445-1463 *in the Desert, The Meeting with Christ*, and two missing panels showing *The Preaching in the Desert* and *The Baptism*. In the right-hand wing were *St. John Preaching before Herod, St. John in Prison, Herod's Feast, The Decapitation, The Head presented to Herod* and a missing panel showing *St. John and Salome*. In principle and subject to small modifications Venturi's reconstruction may be accepted. Venturi, however, like De Nicola, ignored the existence of the Carvallo panel.⁶⁸ This shows *St. John preaching in the Desert* and the fact that in it the Redeemer is symbolised not by a human figure but by a lamb suggests that in the polyptych it must have occurred between *St. John in the Desert* and *The Meeting with Christ* and not between *The Meeting with Christ* and *The Baptism*. The evidence of the dimensions of the panels shows that the scenes in each wing would have read across from left to right starting at the top left corner. The form of the left wing would thus have been:

<i>Annunciation to Zacharias</i> (Lehman)	<i>Naming of the Saint</i> (Münster)
<i>St. John in the Desert</i> (Chicago)	<i>The Preaching of St. John</i> (Carvallo)
<i>Meeting with Christ</i> (Chicago)	<i>Baptism of Christ</i> (lost)

The Carvallo picture has therefore lost between 26 and 28 cm. in height and between 5 and 8 cm. in breadth. When this wing was shut the reverse of the Lehman panel would have been visible to the immediate left of the centre of the altarpiece. The panel on the reverse of which was the *Virgin Annunciate* must therefore have occupied the extreme right corner of the right wing. Now on the reverse of none of the panels, save that in the Lehman collection, is there a trace of paint and we have therefore to assume that it was the missing panel in the right wing, the *Salome and St. John*, which showed the figure of the Virgin on its back. That being so the scene would have occurred between the *Speech to Herod* and *St. John in Prison* and not,

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as might well have been the case, between *St. John in Prison* and *Herod's Feast*. The form of the right wing therefore was as follows: 1445-1463

<i>Speech to Herod</i> (Münster)	<i>Salome and St. John</i> (lost)
<i>St. John in Prison</i> (Chicago)	<i>Herod's Feast</i> (Chicago)
<i>Decapitation</i> (Chicago)	<i>Presentation of Head</i> (Chicago)

The dimensions of these wings without allowance for the intervening frames would have been 2.12×1.52 m. As we have seen in order to display the *Annunciation* on the reverse the wings must have been capable of being shut. The minimum overall measurements of the inside panel therefore would have been 2.12×3.04 m. The fact that the breadth of the central panel thus exceeds its width, precludes the idea that it contained a single figure of St. John. It is impossible at present to determine its composition. But we may suspect that the centre of the altarpiece was not a painted panel at all. The analogy presented by Sassetta's *Scenes from the Life of St. Francis* is imprecise in that they formed not the wings but the back of the Berenson panel. In the case of the St. John polyptych it seems that if we abandon, as we must abandon, the notion that its wings were rigid, we must give up also the notion that its centre was a picture. In Siena the tradition of rigid polyptychs was so established that no painter would have departed from it gratuitously unless he had some special reason for wanting doors which shut, in other words unless the centre of his altarpiece required protection. The strong presumption therefore is that the central figure was made in metal or more probably in wood.

The composition of the polyptych is not merely of scholastic interest. Arranged in the way we have suggested it acquires an æsthetic as well as a literary unity. Reading across the three existing upper panels, we find so close a relation between the architecture and the colour scheme that it is easy to imagine roughly the effect the fourth panel must have presented. We have already discussed the general lines of

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1445-1463 Giovanni di Paolo's modification of the Lorenzetti *Presentation in the Temple*. In these three panels the same principles recur, and the first of them, the Lehman *Annunciation to Zacharias*, clearly harks back to the temple structure of the earlier picture.⁶⁹ In all three the painter seems to have been preoccupied with the effect the foreshortening inevitable in their situation would have on their design. Not only are the panels rather higher than those in the two lower tiers, but the figures themselves (particularly those in the background) are methodically elongated in a way to which the lower panels offer no parallel. In the *Nativity a pentimento* revealing a tentative base for the column shows how far the composition of the panel was experimental. The colouring of these three panels is heavy and fused. The dull red and yellow robe of Zacharias in the first two panels, St. Elizabeth's blue nightgown, and the olive green cloak of the Herodias are offset by the gold wings and red cloak of the annunciatory angel, the scarlet shoes of the attendant who dries a towel by the fire, the metal chalice and dish which a maidservant hands to St. Elizabeth. Giovanni di Paolo's flair for genre is revealed in the painting of the detail, the yellow and violet tiles of the temple floor, the blue and pink angels which ornament the foot of the saint's bed, its crimson and white bedclothes, the orange and green arches of the tetrarch's hall or the sky-blue ribbon which keeps back Herodias' fair hair.

Were they intact, the four lower panels in the left wing would represent one of the supreme achievements of the quattrocento. As it is two of them alone survive in good condition, the apex of Giovanni di Paolo's art, and perhaps the freest expression of visual individualism in the whole body of Italian painting. Their chequered fields and tortured rocks reflect the supernatural character of St. John's own mission. The life of no saint stands so far outside our ordinary human contacts. Just as the Francis legend with its demand for the intimacy of realism awoke the latent naturalistic instincts of the trecento painter, so the remote, half-credible legend of the Baptist roused



St. John Baptist entering the Wilderness
(*Art Institute, Chicago*)

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Giovanni di Paolo to an effort of spiritual symbolism which freed 1445-1463 momentarily all his imaginative potentialities.

The second of these panels, *The Meeting with Christ*, requires comparatively little explanation. Given acceptance of Giovanni's landscape convention, the arrangement of the design inside the panel is quite straightforward. The case of *St. John entering the Wilderness* is rather different.⁷⁰ Elsewhere, in the Boston *Madonna* for example, Giovanni di Paolo, whatever the vagaries of his style, shows a scrupulous regard for perspective. He uses a foreground and a middle ground and a distance and accepts the fact that visually the relative sizes of objects decrease in the ratio of their positions. But perspective is at best no more than a civilised convention, which obliges us if our purpose is literary to place the focus of interest, be it person or object, somewhere in the front of the picture space and to distribute behind it less relevant accidentals. If for some reason we wish to fix the focus of interest in a figure placed in the middle distance, we can make clear our purpose by illumination. What were the conditions Giovanni di Paolo's panel of *St. John entering the Wilderness* was intended to fulfil? He wished to represent the young saint twice, once as he left the city gate, once borne forward by his sense of mission crossing the pass which linked the city to an imaginary sea. Moreover, he wished to concentrate attention of the second episode rather than the first. He made consequently the experiment of reversing his perspective. If we omit for a moment the episode in the left foreground, we see that the planes are virtually inverted; the right side of the bottom half of the panel is the real distance and the band of rocks across the middle the real foreground. Though one has physically to look at the landscape from the front, one sees it through the eyes of the young saint, who climbs the rocky summit in the middle distance.

Adjacent to this panel stood the Carvallo *St. John Preaching*. There is no reason to suppose that the scene was damaged prior to being cut down to its present size. The reduction, it seems, was motivated by

1445-1463 a feeling that the landscape occupied a disproportionate area of the panel. Probably at the same vandalistic moment a Mantegna monogram and the date 1500 were forged at the bottom of the panel, the Baptist's head being changed to what is roughly a Mantegnesque type and the position of his right arm altered. Originally the composition must closely have resembled that of the Chicago *Meeting with Christ*.

That these four lower panels on the left-hand side must have been intimately related to one another is suggested by their companions on the right. In the first of these St. John, through the bars of his prison cell, exhorts his disciples to inquire into the miracles of Christ; in the third the bars are raised and he leans from the same window to be decapitated. Similarly Herod is presented with the Baptist's head in the same loggia at the same feast at which Salome's demand had first been made. This results in each case in two almost identical settings being placed one on top of the other. To the right of all four scenes are visible fragments of chequered landscape which echo the backgrounds of the opposite panels. We can well see how the problem of giving variety to such a scheme would have taxed the inventive faculty of most quattrocento painters. The solution which Giovanni di Paolo offers is both simple and curious. In each of the two lower panels, though the setting is the same as in the two above, the viewpoint is slightly modified. On the extreme right side of the upper prison scene the wall of the palace slopes away; the right side of the lower scene on the other hand finishes with the right column of the arch of the palace gateway, a proportionately greater area of the prison wall on the left side being shown. The scene is thus visualised from a point of view some feet to the right of that originally adopted. A comparison between the fourth and sixth scenes shows that in the latter, as a result probably of some theory of compensation, the visual centre is moved slightly to the left.

A contrast between the lower panels on either side tends also to emphasise Giovanni di Paolo's understanding of the broad trend of

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the story of St. John. The immobile mysticism, the quiet exaltation of the three panels which precede the missing *Baptism of Christ* changes abruptly on the right-hand side to the fevered action of the last stages of the saint's career. With what narrative vigour are their dramatic possibilities evoked! The morbid, lascivious Salome, the unwilling executioner, the frightened guests, the horror-struck attendants, are defined with impeccable exactitude. Seldom in painting has any story been so intensely told. 1445-1463

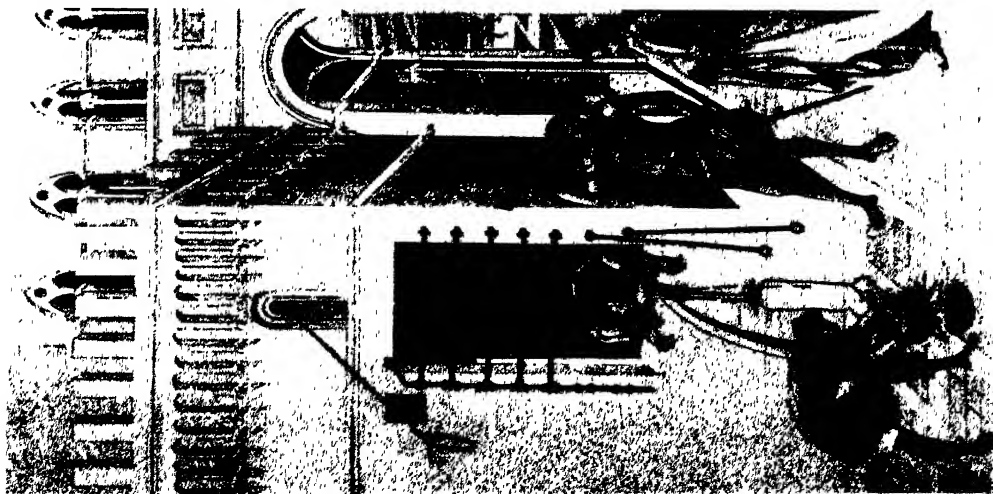
It in no way diminishes the intrinsic interest of the scenes that their iconography was not wholly original. Iconographical conservatism was one of the characteristics of the Sienese painter. Duccio in his *Maestà* had illustrated a number of New Testament scenes with a superb adequacy which subsequent painters would have thought themselves impertinent in disregarding. In rather the same way in the first half of the quattrocento, the iconography of the legend of St. John became momentarily standardised. The erection of the baptismal font in the baptistery of San Giovanni under the direction of Jacopo della Quercia was the most important single artistic event in fifteenth-century Siena.⁷¹ All the skill of Donatello, Quercia and Ghiberti combined to give the large narrative bronze plaques around its base an animation and audacity foreign to Sienese art. It had something of the character of a blood transfusion brought to a patient dying of anæmia. Nothing was more natural than that Giovanni di Paolo faced with a commission to execute these very episodes in paint, should at least refer to so singular a prototype. The commission for his pictures does not exist. Perhaps like that for the *Presentation* of 1447 it specified that the scenes on the font were to form the basis of the design. But that is unlikely. When we compare each scene in Giovanni's polyptych with its companion of the font, we find that quantitatively the figures and attitudes he borrows are few.⁷² The figures in the front plane of the Münster *Nativity* (Zacharias, the young man peering over his shoulder, the nurse drying the standing Child,

1445-1463 and the Child itself) appear in reverse in the *Nativity* of Turino di Sano. The general scheme of Giovanni Turini's plaque (the Baptist preaching in the centre, an attentive audience on the left) recurs both in the Ryerson *Meeting with Christ* and the Carvallo *St. John Preaching*. In the Münster *Baptist Preaching before Herod* the figure of the saint himself, of the two men ordered to arrest him and of Herodias are direct allusions to Ghiberti. The motifs of Donatello's *Presentation of St. John's Head to Herod* are distributed through Giovanni's *Presentation* and his version of *Herod's Banquet*; the gestures of the guests on the far side of the table in the original, one pleading, one shocked, are duplicated in the paintings, and the pose of the kneeling figure, who with a towel on his shoulder raises the saint's head on a charger, was taken over bodily by Giovanni, who clothed him for no special reason in the same garments as one of the soldiers in the *Baptist before Herod*. Other less definite sources may be detected. It is very likely that the figure of the executioner was influenced by the executioner in that classic of Sienese painting, Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Martyrdom at Ceuta*,⁷³ and possibly the architecture in the upper panels owes something to Domenico di Bartolo's frescoes in the Pellegrinaio of the Ospedale.⁷⁴ To the composition of one of the two missing panels the font supplies a clue. Giovanni di Paolo painted the *Baptism of Christ* on two other occasions, once in a panel of a predella in the possession of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, once in a small picture in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Both show so close a dependence on Ghiberti's formula that it is not unreasonable to suppose that *The Baptism of Christ* from the St. John polyptych must also have been intimately connected with it.

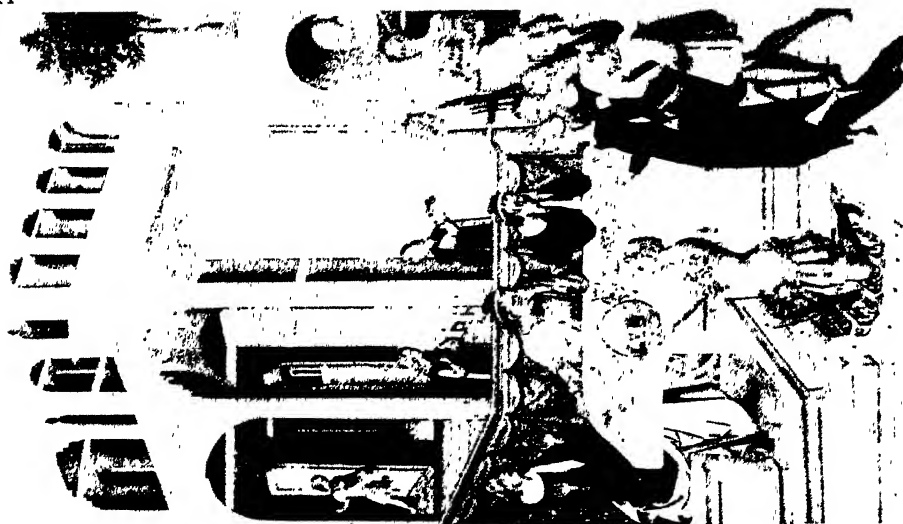
Apart from particular analogies of this kind, it is arguable that the medium of Giovanni di Paolo's prototype had in these panels a general influence on his pictorial style. In a flat bronze surface the number of planes open to the artist's use, if he is not working in abnormally deep relief, is limited to an extent to which it is not limited in painting.

(a) The Decollation of
the Baptist (*Art
Institute, Chicago*).

(b) Salome presents
the Baptist's Head to
Herod (*Art Institute,
Chicago*).



(a)



(b)

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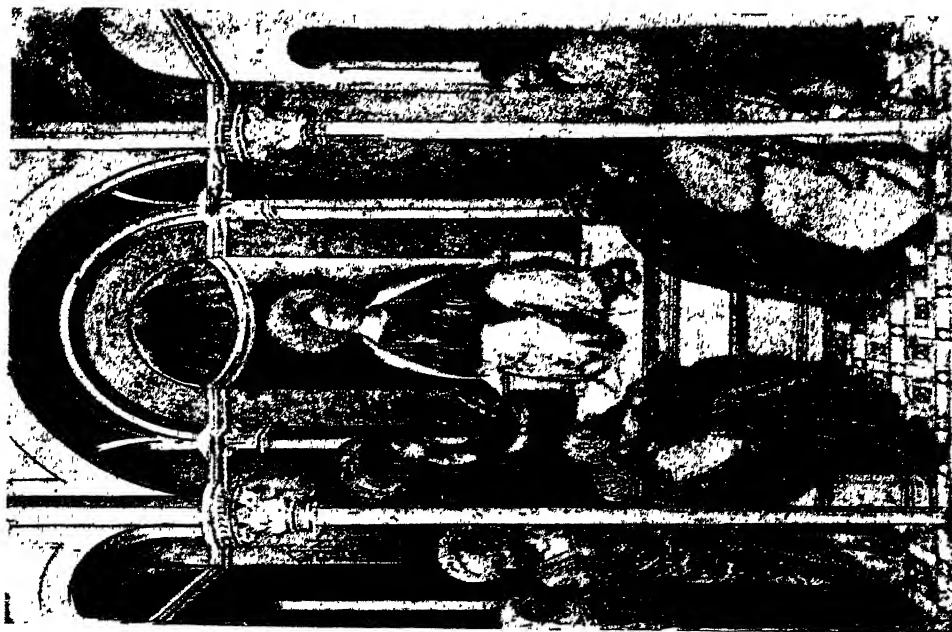
Provided his brush is sufficiently subtle the painter can open out infinite distances and depths. Of that Giovanni di Paolo was reasonably capable. But there are passages in these panels (the extreme distance of *The Entry into the Wilderness* is one of them) which are so flat and map-like as to suggest that when he painted them Giovanni perhaps recalled the way in which in bronze the finer planes of the distance tend to amalgamate into an even face. 1445-1463

The special merit of this polyptych makes its dating of particular importance. Too much has hitherto been made of the chronological significance of its connection with the font in S. Giovanni. The date of the completion of the latter affords no more than a *terminus a quo* for the placing of Giovanni's panels. But internal evidence, apparent to most students of his work, provides a fairly clear indication that these pictures were in fact painted at a very much later period. An examination of the technique of the panels shows that the paint is thickly applied. The colours, though in general they leave an effect of brightness, are in detail fused and impure. It took, as we have seen, a decade, possibly more, to diminish the coloristic force of Giovanni di Paolo's contact with Fra Angelico. The process was complete only by c. 1455. But though the colour is fused, it remains rich. By the close of this period, 1463, Giovanni had already begun to restrict and lighten his colour scheme, to use pinks where before he would have used reds and chalky-looking blues instead of the deep colours of his maturity. Again, a comparison with the predella panels we have already discussed, the *Scenes from the Life of St. Nicholas of Tolentino* and the Clare predella, indicates that the St. John altarpiece is rather later than the one, and of about the same date as the other. In short, it may be placed with some confidence in the bracket 1455-60.⁷⁵

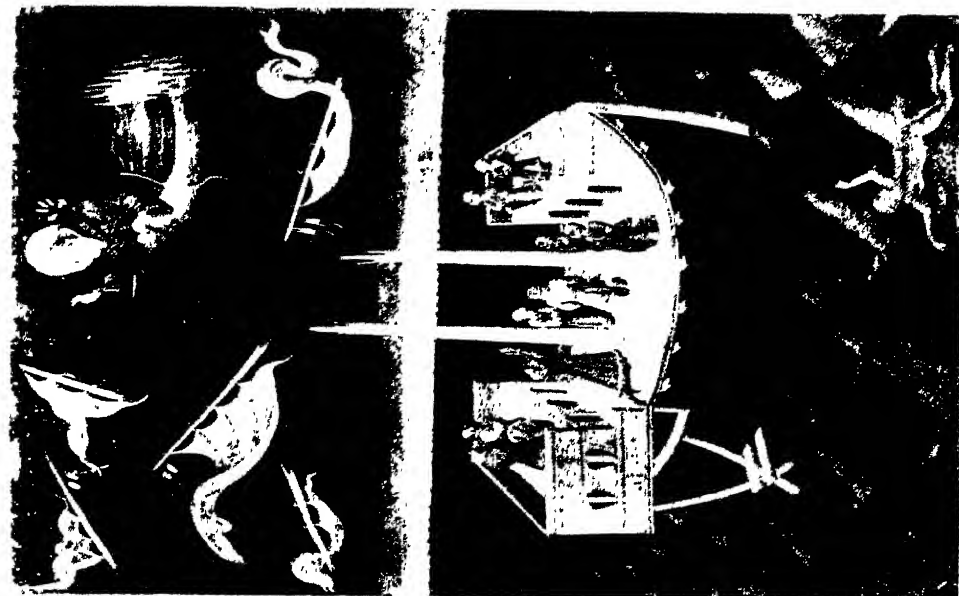
Immediately after he had completed this large altarpiece Giovanni di Paolo seems to have embarked on what De Nicola rightly termed an *editio minor* of four of its main scenes—in a predella which now forms part of the Morgan collection, London.⁷⁶ Three of the scenes, *The*

1445-1463 *Birth of St. John, St. John entering the Wilderness, and Herod's Feast* reproduce the earlier panels so closely that the fourth, *The Baptism of Christ*, may as we have seen be used as a clue to determine what the earlier panel of the subject was like. The panels are oblong, not upright, but the designs lose little from the change. The *Birth* scene, indeed, is more impressive than that at Münster, and the extreme horizon of the *St. John entering the Wilderness* is modified to a less idiosyncratic but more satisfactory type. Each panel is separated from the other by narrow bands of red and white rose-buds. In the earlier series, as here, the Baptism of Christ may well have been the most vehemently realised scene in the whole narrative. It is hardly necessary to add that Van Marle's attempt to separate the *St. John entering the Wilderness* from the three other panels (of the existence of only two of which he seems to have been aware) is utterly unwarranted.⁷⁷

Three other pictures of roughly the same date, *c.* 1460, certainly belong together, a *Nativity* in the Grenville Winthrop collection, New York,⁷⁸ an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Oscar Bondy collection, Vienna,⁷⁹ and *Christ among the Doctors* in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (Plate XXIII B).⁸⁰ Each panel is approximately 24 cm. wide. There would thus, if the original altarpiece was of a normal size, have been three small panels on either side and a larger panel in the centre. What was the subject of the central panel? The subject of the Boston panel is a rare one and it seems likely that the three panels left to us would have stood in the order in which they have been named, on the left side of the predella. The narrative would then have fallen into two parts, three scenes representing the childhood of Christ and three Christ's divine mission. It is therefore not impossible that the central scene would have been yet another *Baptism of Christ*. A panel of this subject, precisely identical in style with the three we are discussing, and of almost the same height is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.⁸¹ The reasoning which connects these panels cannot be pressed too closely, but it is at least convenient to



Christ teaching in the Temple
(Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston)



A Miracle of St. Nicholas of Tolentino
(F. G. Johnson Art Gallery, Philadelphia)

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analyse this small picture with the other three. In composition the panel is close to that in the Morgan series. The Christ stands in a wide river with rocky brims in the pose familiarised by Duccio and the Orvieto reliquary, while the Baptist on the right pours water over Him. But on the left the two attendant angels of the Morgan picture have been swollen to a group of onlookers. In many respects this is the happier version of the two, and it is difficult to believe that Giovanni di Paolo when he conceived the scene infused with a divine golden radiance pouring hotly down from the God the Father above, lighting up the ripples on the water, the yellow hair of the angels, the orange fruit on the trees, did not intend to symbolise the sacramentary significance of the rite he portrayed.⁸² 1445-1463

The technique of these four panels is what the compiler of the Fenway Court catalogue calls "hurried and coarse." More euphemistically we may say that the use of paint is abnormally broad for such small panels, the Sienese equivalent for the kind of technique Signorelli was using in similar small panels at a not much later date. It leads to a richness of colour and a breadth of style in which tempera painting may be said to be pushed to the furthest limits of its capacity. In the earliest catalogue of the Jarves collection (1860) a reference is made apropos of Giovanni di Paolo's *St. Clare before the Pope* to "his Paul Veronese tones of colour and light." It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the technique of Giovanni di Paolo's small paintings of this period was neither involuntary nor deplorable. In the audacity of their pigment as well as in their imaginative force they are intrinsically remarkable æsthetic achievements. To prefer before them the pretty, incoherent naturalism of Giovanni di Paolo's earlier work is a superficiality of which no serious critic should be guilty.

Some miscellaneous narrative panels, some small *Madonnas* and one or two school works remain briefly to be discussed. Soon after 1445 must be placed an *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Frick collection, New York.⁸³ The composition, like that of the predella panel in the

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1445-1463 Vatican described in the first chapter, goes back to the predella of Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi*. Giovanni di Paolo's previous version, being much the same shape as Gentile's panel, reproduced it with considerable fidelity. The Frick panel, however, is tall and thin, with an arched semicircular top, and the composition had naturally to be emended to fit its proportions. The setting of the lower half of the scene varies only in detail—a woman spectator on the left cranes forward, the Child is moved further from the Virgin, the top of the cavern behind is raised so as to allow the animals in it to stand upright, and the three shepherds advance in the background accompanied by two dogs, one of which barks up at the vision of God the Father in the centre of the picture. It would be difficult to pretend that this later version is in any respect an improvement on the panel in the Vatican. Its charm is the charm of a naïve literalism, and one would judge it from a photograph to be from an æsthetic point of view among Giovanni's less satisfactory productions.

The small Altenburg *Madonna*, which as we have seen was probably produced immediately before the Uffizi polyptych of 1445, seems to have achieved a certain popularity. We have at least three pictures by Giovanni di Paolo directly based on it. The earliest of these, a small panel in the possession of Mrs. Lillian Henkel Haas, Grosse Point Farms, Michigan,⁸⁴ is the least close to the original. From the drawing of the Virgin's face one would judge it to have been produced at the same date as the Rocca d'Orcia and Blumenthal *Madonnas*. Very considerably later and apparently much coarser is a second version reproduced in the catalogue of the Castiglione Sale, 1925, as Priamo della Quercia.⁸⁵ A third copy forms the centre of a damaged triptych in the Episcopal Gallery, Esztergom. In the wings are SS. Anthony the Abbot and Ansanus and SS. Francis and Bernardino, placed one above the other in two tiers. The wings are certainly the work of an assistant, but in view of the condition of the central panel I think it possible that this was once an original work by Giovanni di Paolo himself.

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Two sets of single figures are datable before 1450. The first of these consists of two panels of Evangelists in the Vatican Gallery.⁸⁶ These are conspicuously fine in quality and may even have been two of the pilasters of the Guelfi altarpiece. Also part of the framework of an altarpiece were four panels with SS. Dorothy, Agatha, Barbara and Catherine in the Friedsam Bequest, New York.⁸⁷ 1445-1463

Pleasanter in design and later in date than the Frick *Adoration of the Shepherds*, is a charming *Adoration of the Magi* in the Pinacoteca Estense at Modena.⁸⁸ Before a pointed rock the Virgin kneels behind the Child, Who is bound. The three kings kneel one on one side, two on the other; St. Joseph does not appear and there are no attendants. The panel has a pointed top. The actual use of paint is much as in the Boston *Christ and the Doctors*, the heavy lights creating an almost Byzantine effect. In a frame of precisely the same shape a *Madonna and Child with SS. Bartholomew, James, Margaret and Catherine of Alexandria* shows the same technique as this panel and may be dated at the same moment. It belonged in 1929 to the Volterra Galleries, Florence, and I do not know its present whereabouts.⁸⁹ Finer in every respect, and probably a little earlier in date, is a *Madonna and Child in a Landscape accompanied by two Angels*, formerly in the Schneewind collection and now in the possession of a Swiss collector (Plate XXIVa).⁹⁰ Its iconography is as curious as that of the Modena picture. Inclined to the right the Virgin is seated on the left of the picture, her hands in an attitude of prayer; the Child rests in her lap. At the bottom left corner is an open book which she has put down, and on the right two standing angels each dressed in a dalmatic, the foremost proffering a towel. It is difficult to find any parallel for such a scheme in Sienese or indeed in Italian painting and it seems the one instance in Giovanni di Paolo's career of his having depended directly on some northern design. At a guess it may be from some similar source that the swaddled Child in the Modena *Adoration* derives. The technique of the dress of the Virgin in the Schneewind picture is paral-

1445-1463 leled in a half-length *Madonna and Child with SS. Agnes and Jerome* (Plate XXVIIa) in the Lehman collection, New York. The picture was attributed by Berenson ⁹¹ to Giovanni di Paolo's *bottega*, but from reproduction I should judge its execution to be entirely by the master at this or a rather later period. The tooling of the haloes is precisely similar to that of the *Schneewind Madonna*. Akin to the *Volterra Madonna* is a triptych with the *Madonna and Child enthroned between SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Ansano* in the Siena Gallery.⁹² In both the rather coarse flesh painting, the hard wide-open eyes, and the thick ankles of the Child are the same. The pictures may be compared in these respects with the Pienza altarpiece. The side figures have a genuine charm; similarities between the head of the Ansano and the two scenes of the Ansano predella and between the drapery of the St. Catherine and that of the same figure of the Castiglione Fiorentino polyptych suggest a date shortly after 1457. More refined is the centre of a small triptych, showing the *Madonna and Child enthroned with SS. Margaret and Catherine of Alexandria*, in the Platt collection, New Jersey (Plate XXIVb).⁹³ The design is very sensitive and the two saints (each wears double wreaths of roses) while they retain the freedom we admire in the rest of Giovanni di Paolo's work of this period have an elegance frequently lacking elsewhere. A small *Assumption*, the present whereabouts of which are unknown, was published some years ago by A. Venturi.⁹⁴ Of the same date and style as these little panels, it seems of no special interest.

I believe it would be wrong to dismiss any save the coarsest of these small *Madonnas* from the list of Giovanni di Paolo's autograph work. Among the properties of the thick often rough technique he employed at this moment, the most important is that its very freedom enabled the artist who used it to paint more quickly and therefore more carelessly than he could otherwise do. We have examples in our own day of the casual character of the *parerga* of great masters; with an increase in the potential speed of production forms often became distorted and draw-



Madonna and Child with two Angels
(*Private Collection*)



Madonna and Child between SS. Margaret
and Catherine of Alexandria
(*Mr. Dan Fellorey Platt, Englewood*)

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ing imprecise. The evenness of quality in primitive painting was the result less of a more moral and more conscientious attitude to painting, than of an inherently intransigent technique. In the case of a painter who started with just such a technique, academic conceptions of form must be abandoned when he exchanged that technique for another more ready and more fluent. If we compare the Platt *Madonna*, the norm for Giovanni di Paolo's small works at this period, with the Volterra *Madonna* or the Siena triptych, we notice not so much a difference in handling between one and the other as a difference in the evolution of the designs. The careful modelling and exquisite lines of the Child in the one are exchanged for a kind of rough and ready plasticity in the other, the careful folds of the Virgin's veil are eliminated, her face is deprived of recession and reduced to a flaccid oval, and no attempt whatever is made to indicate the knees under the front of her cloak. With an increasingly broad technique and an increasingly fast rate of production, Giovanni di Paolo in a corresponding way simplified his designs to paint probably in considerable quantities little *Madonnas* which must have had the advantage of being both cheap and marketable.

But without question at the end of this period—he was sixty—he would have had pupils or imitators round him. Among the latter is the unknown author of a *Madonna* at S. Bartolommeo a Monistero, Siena,⁹⁵ and among the former the executant of a small *Adoration of the Magi* in the Kröller collection, the Hague ⁹⁶ (probably deriving from an embroidered scene on the cope of St. Nicholas of Bari in Gentile da Fabriano's Quaratesi altarpiece), of an interesting *Madonna* in the Heek collection, 's Heerenberg,⁹⁷ and of a cassone front, showing *Three Scenes from the Story of Esther*, on which Giovanni di Paolo himself seems to have worked.⁹⁸

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So much for the panel pictures of Giovanni di Paolo's middle period. Let us turn for a moment to his few extant frescoes. Two authentic such works from his hand alone survive, a single figure of *St. John the*

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1445-1463 *Baptist* in the chapel of the Madonna sotto le Volte under the Ospedale della Scala in Siena,⁹⁹ and a *Crucifixion* in the refectory of the monastery of S. Leonardo al Lago near the town.¹⁰⁰ Others certainly have perished. At S. Leonardo the traces of a *Last Supper* were discerned by Perkins many years ago¹⁰¹; they have since disappeared. And there is reason to believe that the frescoes in the chapel of the Madonna sotto le Volte were once more extensive; that most untrustworthy of authorities Romagnoli¹⁰² noted that "alcuni frammenti d'opere di costui sono nella compagnia della Madonna sotto lo Spedale." But it seems unlikely that Giovanni di Paolo, whose métier was essentially confined to small panel pictures, ever practised fresco on any considerable scale. It is difficult for chronological purposes to find any standard of comparison between isolated frescoes and a sequence of panel pictures. But the S. Leonardo *Crucifixion*, which is the earlier of the two, may be dated tentatively shortly after 1445 and the *St. John*, a fine, mature, passionate work c. 1450. Both frescoes are ruined and in monochrome. The former refectory of the Monastery of S. Leonardo is now used as a hay-loft and the greater body of the fresco in it has been irreparably destroyed. The extreme upper section, however—the head and arms of the Christ (almost identical with those of the Lanckoronski *Crucifixion*), and the upper parts of the heads of the thieves—as well as a large number of the circular medallions with which the composition was surrounded are fairly well preserved and such are their æsthetic qualities—the severe and tortured Christ is among Giovanni di Paolo's most magnificent creations—that it will be little short of scandalous if some effort is not made either to remove or to conserve them. This fresco—the state of the surviving portions is considerably more satisfactory than that of the *St. John*—forms even in its fragmentary condition one of the most remarkable achievements in the medium of the whole Sienese quattrocento.

As important for the student of Giovanni di Paolo as the two frescoes he executed himself, is one in which he certainly had no hand

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whatever, a *Last Supper* in the church of S. Agostino, Monticiano. 1445-1463 This painting was published as by Giovanni di Paolo by Brandi,¹⁰³ with the claim that the main influence manifest in it was that of Andrea del Castagno, that the picture showed "tutto il movimento realistico e prospettico del quattrocento fiorentino e sottinteso da un arcaismo raffinato," and that the second apostle on the left and the penultimate figure on the same side presented "una singolare rissomiglianza" with figures of Castagno, the gesture of the St. Peter finding a prototype in the S. Apollonia *Cenacolo*. If the fresco were really by Giovanni di Paolo it would thus give us important data as to his development. Brandi, to prove his thesis, connects it with a number of Giovanni's panel pictures covering almost every stage of his career; a shadow on the tablecloth can for him only have been painted by the author of *The Flight into Egypt*, the loose edge of the tablecloth by the author of the Ryerson *Banquet of Herod*, the Judas is paralleled in the Siena *St. Jerome* and the Colle *Presentation* and so on. But the very number and variety of these analogies detract considerably from their value. The most superficial examination of the two genuine damaged frescoes by Giovanni di Paolo shows them to be by the master. If the Monticiano *Last Supper*, which is far better preserved, were also by him, one might justifiably suppose that the attribution would be sufficiently clear to dispense with meaningless details of the kind Brandi adduces. Not only is the picture not by Giovanni di Paolo; it is not in the least like his work. No one who examines it after looking carefully at the Ospedale *St. John* can have the slightest doubt that he was not and could never have been its author.¹⁰⁴ Giovanni di Paolo, as we have said, did himself paint a *Last Supper* in fresco; it is just conceivable that the unknown painter of the Monticiano picture may have been influenced by Giovanni's treatment of the subject. But his work presents to the rational observer no clear point of contact with any of the pictures by Giovanni di Paolo extant to-day.

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1445-1463 We have only one literary reference to Giovanni di Paolo's activities as a miniaturist, a casual note on the part of Romagnoli to the effect that in the year 1450 Giovanni was engaged on the illumination of antiphonals for the Ospedale della Scala.¹⁰⁵ No existing work can be identified even in the most tentative manner with Romagnoli's notice, and we are left therefore without any dated miniature from Giovanni di Paolo's hand. As it is, his illuminated *œuvre* is confined to an antiphonal and a gradual in the Biblioteca Communale in Siena and a single miniature in an English private collection.

The more important of these books, the antiphonal illuminated for the monastery of Lecceto,¹⁰⁶ contains twenty miniatures:

- f. 1a, A Saint presented to an Emperor enthroned
- f. 4a, Christ and his Apostles: an Allegory
- f. 18b, Christ by the Lake of Gallilee
- f. 25a, St. Lawrence
- f. 27b, St. Ansanus
- f. 39a, The Apparition of Christ to a Saint
- f. 43b, The Transfiguration
- f. 46a, Christ drying the Eyes of his Disciples
- f. 61b, The Martyrdom of two Saints
- f. 73b, St. Jerome
- f. 88b, St. Augustine
- f. 102a, The Parable of the Talents
- f. 121a, A female Saint
- f. 121b, St. Monica
- f. 151a, God the Father
- f. 158b, The Virgin and Child with a Saint
- f. 162a, The Virgin and Child enthroned
- f. 163a, The Virgin and Child enthroned
- f. 164a, Death (Plate XXV)
- f. 164b, Christ appearing to a Wayfarer

None of the three published analyses of the series is altogether con-

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clusive. Venturi¹⁰⁷ accepted all the illuminations as by one hand; Milanese omitted four and rejected three of them¹⁰⁸, and out of these four were again restored to Giovanni di Paolo by Dami.¹⁰⁹ The first thing which an examination of the book reveals is that a group of four miniatures near the end (151a, 158b, 162a, 163a) are entirely unrelated to those which precede and follow them. They are the work of a very individual hand not connected in any fundamental way with Giovanni di Paolo himself. The types are unlike his, and though the setting of the scenes reveals a certain interest in landscape, it is a landscape as distinct from Giovanni di Paolo's as are the hunched little dwarfs who occupy it from the thin, graceful figures of the other scenes. So immune are they from any traces of a direct contact, that it is very likely that they were painted at a different, probably a slightly later, period to the other miniatures; this the placing of the miniatures, all inside eleven pages, and the borders, which are quite different to any that go before or after (composed, for example, of tree-trunks wound round with purple arabesques) might support. These dismissed, there remain sixteen miniatures. The authorship of seven of them is undisputed; these are ff. 1a, 4a, 18b, 46a, 61b, 73b, and 164a. All of these reach a very high standard of technical execution and æsthetic coherence. Ff. 25a and 88b are considerably damaged. The small un-rubbed portions, however, show quite clearly that they are by the same author as the well-preserved 27b, which Milanese accepted as by Giovanni di Paolo. I am inclined to think that these three miniatures, as well as f. 121a and a single figure of St. Monica, f. 121b, are by the master himself. Four other miniatures, ff. 39a, 43b, 102a, and 164b, monotonous in composition and unpersuasive in posture, seem to have been executed by a pupil working on Giovanni di Paolo's design; they are considerably less fine in quality than the rather similar illuminations on f. 61b.

The best work in the book is imaginatively among the freest that Giovanni produced. His Christ, as he stands with his devout dis-

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1445-1463 ciples extending towards his flock a sheaf of primrose-coloured corn, as he lifts a black-edged towel to stem their tears, or stands alone backed by a pale green sea, is a sensitive and moving figure; his Death,¹¹⁰ riding armed along a wood, and the doomed carmine figure he shoots down are as little naïve as the concept which they symbolise. The borders too are in every case exceptionally fine. Giovanni di Paolo's gift for turning natural observation to decorative account found a limited scope in the dividing panels of his predellas, but it is to the Lecceto codex we must go if we are to realise the extraordinary wealth of his naturalistic invention. Wreaths peppered with wild strawberries, patterns of leaves reversed, combinations of contrasted vegetation, bullrushes, menacing parti-coloured dragons, follow each other with unexampled abandon. In no other medium did Giovanni di Paolo work with such finesse at a time when his powers had matured. The date of the book I believe to be later than is commonly supposed. It was qualified as early by Berenson and dated by Dami *c.* 1436, on the ground of supposed resemblances to the supposed Fondi predella panels. In the case of Giovanni di Paolo's painting, we have seen that the general tonality gives us always a rough indication of date. The rule is one that cannot apply to illumination; and a comparison of the morphological details of the figures in these miniatures with those of reasonably late works, the saints on the cope of the *St. Nicholas of Bari* of 1453, the Ansanus predella, and the *Miracles of St. Nicholas of Tolentino*, shows that making allowances for the brighter colour and the finer technique (both qualities inseparable from the medium in which Giovanni was working) the Lecceto codex is datable between 1450 and 1460.

Three miniatures in a Gradual of unknown provenance in the Biblioteca Communale in Siena¹¹¹ were first attributed to Giovanni di Paolo by Berenson. The first of them, f. 5, shows *Christ appearing to a Suppliant*, the second, f. 9, a *Pilgrim*, and the third, f. 91, *A Monk in Prayer*. The book contains a large number of other illuminations coarse in

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quality and scarcely to be catalogued as belonging to Giovanni di Paolo's school. For every fine miniature in quattrocento Siena we are faced with forty or more of inconceivably low quality, amateur derivatives of faulty prototypes. The appearance of three miniatures by Giovanni di Paolo in this book is the more curious in that they are not a very elaborate nature. All three are fine, sensitive and slight. In the grey-bearded suppliant and the mauve-clad pilgrim there is scarcely an echo of the emotional ecstasy of the Lecceto codex. The technique, however, is so characteristic that though the book is plainly earlier than the more important volume, it would be surprising if the interval which separated them were a question of more than three or four years.

Hitherto unpublished, a half-length *Baptist* in the initial P owned by Mr. Kenneth Clark ¹¹² seems a genuine work by Giovanni di Paolo of a far earlier period. In front of conventionalised grey hills crowned on each side with blue-green trees, the saint stands against the golden sky. His dark, carefully worked flesh is offset by a cerise cloak. The miniature is obviously connected with Giovanni di Paolo, and points of style, the thin arms, the heavily indicated wrinkles to each side of the eyes, the transverse carmine hatching on the cheek, may be considered adumbrations of the technique of the three miniatures discussed above. If it is by Giovanni di Paolo this must be an early work, certainly before 1440.¹¹³

Round the disputable miniatures in the Lecceto codex a number of incorrect attributions have been hung. Gradual I of the Museo del Duomo at Pienza, ascribed to Giovanni di Paolo by Dami,¹¹⁴ is not closely related to him. Three miniatures in the Holford collection, attributed in the official catalogue to the "Period of Giovanni di Paolo of Siena" and by Van Marle to Giovanni di Paolo himself, are not Sienese.¹¹⁵ Two further miniatures in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and the so-called Dante codex formerly in the Yates-Thompson collection,¹¹⁶ agree very little more closely with Giovanni di Paolo's genuine work.¹¹⁷

1445-1463

It is perhaps safe to assume that as with his frescoes Giovanni di Paolo's miniature painting was not wide in scope.¹¹⁸ In the miniature painting of his period we can scarcely ever detect traces of his influence. Had he been reasonably productive in illuminations of the quality of those that remain to us such a circumstance would be incomprehensible. In his illuminations the barrier of abnormal vision which may be considered to have prevented imitation of his mature paintings does not exist, and they have beside a far greater technical superiority over contemporary illuminations than his paintings over contemporary pictures. Miniature painting of the Sienese quattrocento has never been systematically studied. One of the reasons doubtless for this neglect is its extreme unevenness of quality. The chorales of Sano di Pietro (intellectually as flaccid as any of his predella panels) are among the more consistent of its productions. A small body of genuinely accomplished illumination may have accrued round the style of Sassetta. But in general its technical, imaginative and visual standards were considerably lower than those of the painting of the same time. During part of the trecento it attained an independent æsthetic status, later, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, it retained a certain documentary value for the study of style. But by the middle of the fifteenth century, the art had lost even that standing and fell to a decline from which the artificial stimulus of the formation of the Piccolomini Library temporarily withdrew it. D'Ancona with all justice attributes the influx of foreign miniaturists into Siena in the second half of the century to a realisation of the incompetence of indigenous artists.¹¹⁹ To such work Giovanni di Paolo's extant illuminations provide a startling and favourable contrast. In no other type of painting was the ideal of craftsmanship he maintained so high.

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- 1 Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti*, 1898, 182; Archivo di Stato, Lira, Denunzio ad annum. Quoted incorrectly by Romagnoli, *Bell'artisti Senesi*, Bibl. Comm. Sen., iv, 323-4.
- 2 Borghesi and Banchi, op. cit., 233n.
- 3 Milanese, *Documenti*, ii, 241: Archivio dei Contratti di Siena, rogiti di Ser. Gio: Melari, Prot. dal 1442 al 1450 a c. 90: "Anno Domini MCCCCXLVII, inditione x, die vero xi mensis Aprilis. Cristoforus Antonii, Nicholaus Johannis Venture, et Johannes Matei Salvi, pizichaiuoli de Senis, Rectores artis et universitatis Pizichaiuolorum de Senis, vigore commissionis et remissionis in eos facte a dicta universitate;—absente tamen Johanne Pieri Donati, eorum quarto collega, et cameraio dicte artis et universitatis,—locaverunt et concesserunt ad pingendum magistro *Johanni Pauli*, pictori de Sensis,—ad pingendum unam tabulam ad altarem et pro altare cappelle novite constructe in ecclesia Hospitalis sancte Marie de la Schala de Senis, per dictam universitatem, sub nomine et titulo Purificationis gloriose Virginis Marie; in illa forma et compositione, figuris et storiis eidem magistro Johanni per dictos rectores demonstrandis et assignandis; cum his pactis, et modis, videlicet. Quod dictus magister Johannes teneatur fieri facere frustum dicte tabule de bono lignamine, cum omni ejus fornimento in illa forma et compositione per dictos Rectores declaranda; et ipsam tabulam et frustum de auro, azurro, et coloribus finis pingere, fulcire, et fulcitam in totum inponere super altarem dicte cappelle in festo Omnium Sanctorum anni 1449 proxime venturi; omnibus et singulis dicti magistri Johannis sumptibus et expensis: pro pretio et mercede in totum et in omnibus, florenorum nonaginta usque in centum florenos, de lib: quattuor denariorum senensium pro singulo floreno; prout dictis locatoribus videbitur conveniri, finita et posita dicta tabula. In quos locatores, dictus magister Johannes se pleniare remisit." De quo salario, pretio seu mercede, dicti locatores promiserunt dicto magistro Johanni ad presens dare et solvere libras centum den.; et medietatem residui, quando idem magister Johannes tabulam predictam mittet ad aurum: et residuum, finita et inposita dicta tabula in dicta cappella.
- 4 No. 211. Dimensions: 2.46 × 1.72 m.
- 5 Bossio, *Visita Pastorale*, 1575, MS. Cura Arcivescovile, Siena, 114.
- 6 Approximate width: 59 in. Signed: OPUS GIOVANNI DAI POGIO.
- 7 Trübner, *Die Tafelbilder des Sano di Pietro*, 87. The Massa picture no

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longer exists in its entirety. Sano di Pietro later repeated the same composition in an illumination for Gradual no. II of the Piccolomini Library.

8 Milanese, op. cit., ii, 389.

9 Libri Conticorrenti dell'Ospedale, ann. 1448-54, vol. 568:

c. 339v. Mo. Giovanni di Pavolo dipentore a poggio malevolti die avere a dì xx di giugno 1450 L. trentadue S. undici sono per dipentura di 3 drapelloni 2 grandi e uno piccholo dipinti da ogni lato colle santo Bernardino et per dipentura di 2 libri del capitolo et una diadema al santo Bernardino.

E die avere a dì xx di giugno 1450 L. sedici sono per loro messi a le sopradette figure.

c. 348. Mo. Giovanni dal poggio dipentore die avere a dì (date omitted) daghosto 1450 L. dodici S. cinque e quali sono per dipentura di drappelloni del chiovo come appare a memoriale a fol. 10 sono a uscita a frate Nicholo di jacommo.

A further earlier payment refers to work unspecified:

c. 67v. Mo. Giovanni di Pavolo dipentore i fine a dì v di dicembre 1450 L. dicianove S. O chontati come a uscita di fr. Nicholo di Jachomo.

10 No. 173. Dimensions: 2.15 × 2.50 m. Inscribed: OPUS JOHANNIS PAULI DE SENIS MCCCCLIII DIE III DECEMBRE. Van Marle, ix, 438, mistook St. Clare for St. Mary Magdalen. Mentioned by Romagnoli, op. cit., iv, 319, and again as a separate picture, iv, 321

11 Dimensions: Central panel: 2.13 × 0.66 m., lateral panels: 1.83 × 0.43 m. Signed at the base of the central panel: OPUS JOHANNES MCCCCLIIII. From the Tommasi-Aleotti collection, Arezzo. L. Venturi, *Pitture Italiane negli Stati Uniti*, pl. CXXXIV, failed to find the inscription. See also Perkins, *Rass. d'Arte Sen.*, 1907, 82; Dussler, *Burlington Magazine*, 1, 35; *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, New York*, 1932, November, 33.

12 Signed: OPUS JOHANNIS PAULI DE SENIS MCCCCLVI. Wrongly described by de Nicola, *Burlington Magazine*, xxiii, 54, as St. Bernardino. Dimensions: 1.80 × 0.63 m.

13 Signed: OPUS JOHANNIS DE SENIS ANNO DNI MCCCCLVII. Mancini, *Cortona (Italia Artistica)*, misreading the signature, attributed the panels to Cecco di Giovanni. The confusion is corrected by Perkins, *Rass. d'Arte Sen.*, 1909,

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- 49, and del Vita, *Castiglione Fiorentino*, 54. Berenson, *Pitture Italiane*, 1936, gives the date incorrectly as 1458. Approximate dimensions: (a) $53\frac{3}{8} \times 24\frac{1}{8}$ in., (b) $48\frac{3}{8} \times 18$ in.
- 14 Perkins, *Pitture Senesi*, 188, no. 207: "Conobbi questi dipinti quasi vent'anni or sono a Roma, senza sapere il luogo di provenienza. Seppi piu tardi che appartenevano a un istituto religioso presso Viterbo, ove credo che si trovano ancora."
- 15 Bossio, op. cit., 115.
- 16 Trübner, op. cit., 60 seq. Hartlaub, *Matteo da Siena und seine Zeit*, 66n.
- 17 Manucci, *Pienza*, 61, 181. The document was first published without comment in the *Giornale d'Erudizione artistica*, Perugia, 1899. Even if this Misser Giovanni had been a painter, there is no reason for identifying him with Giovanni di Paolo. A third Maestro Giovanni da Siena, specifically mentioned as a painter but apparently merely an interior decorator, is referred to in a document of 1458 recorded by Romagnoli (see Appendix D).
- 18 Mentioned by Romagnoli, op. cit., iv, 332, and Lanzi, *Storia Pittorica*, 1822, i, 274: "Giovanni di Paolo fa in Pienza buona comparsa."
- 19 It is curious to note that Sano di Pietro on several occasions filled a Renaissance frame with a number of self-consistent Gothic panels (cf. the altarpiece at S. Quirico d'Orcia).
- 20 Romagnoli, op. cit., records a tradition that the *Crucifixion* of 1440 was painted in oil.
- 21 Perkins, *La Diana*, 1932, 51. Dimensions: 1.85×0.87 m. Meiss, *Art Bull.*, 1936, xvii, 437, seems to exaggerate the Simonesque derivation of the composition.
- 22 Dimensions: $52 \times 32\frac{1}{4}$ in. *Catalogue of the George and Florence Blumenthal Collection*, pl. XXVII.
- 23 The most conspicuous parallel is Sassetta's Cortona *Madonna*.
- 24 Nicolosi, *Il Litorale Maremmano*, 1910, 48 (repr.).
- 25 Van Marle, *Development*, ix, 402.
- 26 Cut at bottom and sides. Wrongly described by Berenson, *Pitture Italiane*, 1936, 212, as in the Municipio at Montalcino. The picture formed part of an exhibition at Montalcino in 1926.
- 27 No. 191. Dimensions: 2.24×1.93 m. A suggestion was put forward

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in the gallery catalogue of 1860-4 that this picture stood on the Guelfi altar in S. Domenico; this foolish identification was accepted by Jacobsen, *Das Quattrocento in Siena*, 43, and implicitly by Berenson, op. cit., 213, who ascribes to the polyptych the date 1445.

- 28 No. 203. Dimensions: 2.12 × 0.96 m. From the Campana collection. See Perdrizet et Jean, *La Galerie Campana et les Musées Français*, 1907, 58, Cahier, *Caractéristiques des Saints*, ii, 683, and Reiset, *Notice des Tableaux du Musée Napoleon III*, 1863, art. 136. For the figure of Averroes cf. the *Allegory of Theology* in the Sacristy of the Duomo (Lusini, *Il Duomo di Siena*, 1911, 203, repr.). The iconography of Averroes is discussed by Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroïsme*, 1861, 301 seq. In the middle fifteenth century the teachings of Gaetano da Tiene may well have given such a figure special significance.
- 29 Dimensions: 70½ × 51¾ in. Coll.: Bardini, Alphonse Kann; R. Lehman, *Catalogue of the Philip Lehman Collection*, no. L. A square strip of wood has been inserted between the angels at the bottom of the panel, which was at one time cut to fit over the tabernacle of the altar in which the picture stood. Breck's comparison, *Art in America*, 1914, 280, with the Poggioferro *Madonna* is misleading. But the panel can scarcely, as King, *Art Bulletin*, 1936, June, 233n., suppose, be earlier than that in Siena.
- 30 Listed by Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*, 1909, as in the Pinacoteca of San Severino. Repr. Perkins, *La Diana*, 1932, 178.
- 31 No. 214. Dimensions: 1.07 × 0.48 m.
- 32 No. 215. Dimensions: 81 × 38 cm. Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca*, 1933, 98.
- 33 Dimensions: 71 × 27 cm. With Canessa (formerly).
- 34 No. 130. Dimensions: 35 × 40 cm. Formerly ascribed to Pellegrino di Mariano.
- 35 Approximate dimensions show that this panel is of the same size as that in the Vatican: 30.45 × 40.10 cm.
- 36 First noticed by de Nicola, *Burlington Magazine*, xxiii, 54. I know the pictures only from two photographs in the library of Mr. Bernard Berenson.
- 37 All four scenes refer to St. Anthony, v. Marri-Martini, *L'Iconografia Antoniana e gli Artisti Senesi*, Boll. Sen. di Storia Patria, n.s., no. II, 1931, Fasc. II.

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- 38 This was first pointed out by Olcott, *Guide*, 1903, 356; her statement forms the basis of Gengaro's comment, *La Diana*, 1932, 8-33; "Si può dire dunque con un'immagine forse iperbolica, che Giovanni di Paolo interpreta il plasticismo di Giotto con una vivacità verbosa."
- 39 Dimensions: 30 × 63 cm. From the Ramboux collection (probably no. 122 as Paolo di Neri).
- 40 Gentile da Fabriano's S. Trinità *Nativity*, in essence a study in artificial illumination, may have been the indirect cause of Giovanni di Paolo's study of natural illumination.
- 41 Dimensions: 26 × 45 cm. Stanstead Hall collection (privately printed catalogue, 1872, 8, as Gentile da Fabriano); Lord Northwick; Langton Douglas; Simon collection, Berlin; Simon sale (Helbing, 1929, no. 3, purchased Duveen). Ex. Berlin, K.F.M. Verein, 1914, no. 123 (v. Hadeln, *Archiv für Kunstgeschichte*, 1914, ii, 116).
- 42 Dimensions: 25.4 × 21.7 cm. Coll.: Fuller Maitland; Langton Douglas; A. Stoclet, Brussels; Wendling sale, Paris, 1921, no. 19 (as school of Matteo di Giovanni). Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ed. Borenius), 1914, 173n., as Sano di Pietro. R. Lehman, op. cit., pl. XLVIII, confuses its number in the Manchester exhibition of 1857 (no. 56) with that in the Fuller Maitland collection. Repr. Reinach, *Rép. de Peintures*, 1918, i, 564.
- 43 Dimensions: 7½ × 19 in. Romea, *Rass. d'Arte* Sen., xviii, 1926, 72, and Dussler, loc. cit., as in the hands of A. S. Drey, Munich. The Cologne panel is perhaps the *Entombment* referred to by Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 451n., as no. 129 in the Ramboux collection. The dimensions are identical.
- 44 It is not impossible that the Utrecht *Crucifixion* is itself the central panel.
- 45 Perkins, *La Diana*, 1932, 243-4, seems to me to overpraise these panels.
- 46 Dated by Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 214, c. 1445. These scenes are radically different from the narrative records, those of Sano di Pietro for instance, which were executed during the saint's lifetime.
- 47 Romagnoli, op. cit., iv, 328, believed the *Crucifixion* to be a repetition of that painted for the Osservanza in 1440. The single figure of St. Bernardino may be compared with a charming little *St. Bernardino between two*

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Angels in the collection of F. Mason Perkins, Assisi, which Giovanni di Paolo seems to have painted at about the same date.

- 48 The scene on the extreme right (in which a figure in white and gold, bearing a gold wand, appears to the sleeping saint) may be compared with the corresponding scene in Sassetta's St. Francis altarpiece. The scene at the tomb was perhaps suggested by the rather similar predella panel from Gentile da Fabriano's Quaratesi altarpiece, lately on the antique market. For *The Nurture of St. Stephen* v. Weizsäcker, *Kat. des Städtischen Kunstinstitut*, 1900.
- 49 Dimensions: 31.5 × 32.5 cm. Described by Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 430, as *St. John Baptising*, catalogued at Esztergom as *St. George baptising the King of Lydia*. From the Ramboux collection, Cologne; catalogue, 1862, no. 23, as "der schule des Giovanni di Paolo angehörend." K. Clark, *Commemorative Catalogue of the Italian Exhibition*, 1931, 35, refers the subject to the Vita et Officium S. Ansani, *Baluzii Miscellanea* (ed. Mansi), Lucca, 1764, iv, 64.
- 50 Dimensions identical with those of the Esztergom panel. Perkins, *Pitture Senesi*, 1932, 52, comments on the use of silver.
- 51 Dimensions: 50 × 42.5 cm.
- 52 Dimensions: 20 × 16 in. Jacobsen, op. cit., 48; "ist mit Recht als Voto per Tempesta di Mare' bezeichnet" (this is nonsense). For the episode see Pietro da Monte Rubiano, *Vita S. Nicolai Tolentinis*, viii, 82 (in *Acta Sanctorum*, Septembri, iii, 663).
- 53 Berenson, *Pitture Italiane*, 1936, 214; Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 447. Breck, *Art in America*, 1914, 177, characterises the habit as Franciscan.
- 54 Eigenberger, *Die Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien*, 1927, no. 1177, vol. i, 162-3. For the literary source v. Pietro da Monte Rubiano, loc. cit., vii, c. 75.
- 55 This charming panel shows St. Nicholas supported by two angels between twined lily stems. A vision of St. Augustine, above, waves over the saint's head what appears to be an Augustinian scapular.
- 56 Dimensions: 32 × 42 cm. Coll.: Desmottes, March 19th, 1900, no. 450 (as Ecole de Sienne). See Pératé, *Les Arts*, Sept.-Oct., 1904. Martin le Roy Catalogue, no. 3, connects the picture wrongly with the panel in the

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Bargello then described as *The Decapitation of St. Paul*. The identification with the description of the *Legenda Aurea* is not altogether satisfactory. Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 452n., as "doubtfully attributed to Giovanni di Paolo by Mr. Berenson"; Berenson, however, loc. cit., does not question the picture. It is tempting to identify this picture with a panel seen by Brogi, op. cit., 305, in the sacristy of the chapel of the Ven. Compagnia degli Artisti in Montepulciano. Brogi's description of the picture runs: "S. Giovanni Apostolo dentro una caldaia d'olio. Vedesi un manigoldo alimentare il fuoco, un altro portare una fascina, e tre spettatori del martirio." But Brogi's dimensions (0.29 × 0.36 m.) are difficult to reconcile with those given for the Martin le Roy picture, unless the latter include the frame. In the event of the Martin le Roy panel being identical with that at Montepulciano it would have formed part of the same predella as the *Baptism of Christ* and the *Crucifixion* discussed in the Catalogue at the end of this volume, n. 1, and at present untraced.

- 57 Dimensions: 0.20 × 0.29 m. Coll.: Kaufmann; Kaufmann sale, 1918, no. 28. Wrongly described by Berenson, loc. cit., and Van Marle, loc. cit., as *The Investiture of a Monk*. The scene was correctly identified when the picture was shown at Frankfurt, Ausstellung, 1925, no. 81. Mentioned by Bernarth, *Burlington Magazine*, xlvii, 216.
- 58 No. 59. Dimensions: 8 × 11 in. Sirén, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 155. Admirably described by Offner, *Italian Primitives at Yale University*, 1927, 40. Scene wrongly identified by Offner, Berenson, Sirén, Van Marle, Breck, op. cit.
- 59 Dimensions: 19.5 × 29.4 cm. As note 57. Kaufmann Sale, no. 27. Berenson, op. cit., as *Miracle of St. Catherine of Siena*.
- 60 Dimensions (including frame): 29.5 × 38.5 cm. Coll.: Sir John Boileau, Henry Harris, London. Ex.: Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857, no. 59; Burlington House, 1931, no. 61. Berenson, op. cit., as *Miracle of St. Catherine*. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ed. Borenius), 1914, v, 173, as Sano di Pietro. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, iii, 428: "Sano di Pietro: A Miracle from the Legend of St. Clara. A genuine and good little picture by this mediocre Siennese master."
- 61 Coll.: Aynard, Lyons (bt. Kleinberger), Ryerson.

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- 62 Dimensions: 76 × 35.7 cm. Coll.: Principe Sant'Angelo, Naples (bt. Simonetti). R. Lehman, op. cit., pl. XLVI.
- 63 Nos. 355, 356. Dimensions: 74 × 35 cm. Coll.: Principe Sant'Angelo, Naples.
- 64 Dimensions: 40 × 30 cm.
- 65 Schubring suggested neither (Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 427-8) that the six Ryerson panels decorated a cassone chest nor (*Catalogue of the Century of Progress Exhibition*, Chicago, 1934) that they were "part of an octagonal tabernacle painted for a baptismal chapel." Schubring included the six Ryerson panels in his *Cassoni* volume, nos. 445-50, pl. 104-6, with the comment, i, 334, that "die sieben (sic) Tafeln stammen vermutlich von einem achtzeitigen Ciborium, die achte Seite würde von dem Sportello eingenommen." In the same volume, loc. cit., he expressed the opinion that the two Münster panels "bildeten mit einer dritten, die ich 1912 bei Simonetti in Rom sah (*Verkündigung an Zacharias*) ein Altartabernakel, das Giovanni di Paolo vermutlich für eine Taufkapelle gemalt hat."
- 66 De Nicola, *Burlington Magazine*, xxiii, 1918, 45.
- 67 L. Venturi, op. cit., pl. CXXXV seq.; he points out also with equal justice that the Ryerson panels are the wrong shape for predella panels and that de Nicola's literary order is indefensible.
- 68 Published by Amandry and Fry, *Burlington Magazine*, vi, 1904-5, 305, 312.
- 69 Serra's attempt, *L'Arte nelle Marche*, i, 313, to trace Giovanni di Paolo's composition back to a *Presentation* in S. Maria della Piazza, Ancona, may be disregarded. The painter of the Ancona picture may himself have been influenced by Ambrogio Lorenzetti's scheme.
- 70 The most sensitive literary interpretation of this picture is that of Offner, op. cit., 40.
- 71 Bacci, *Jacopo della Quercia; Nuovi Documenti e Commenti*, passim.
- 72 Useful photographs of the plaques may be found in Lusini, *Il S. Giovanni di Siena*, 1901.
- 73 De Nicola, loc. cit.
- 74 Schubring, *Rass. d'Arte*, 1912, 162. Mr. Kenneth Clark suggests that the

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panther in the foreground of the *St. John in Prison* derives from a Florentine woodcut.

- 75 Berenson, *Pittura Italiana*, 1936, qualifies the pictures as early. They were dated by De Nicola, loc. cit., and Schubring, loc. cit., shortly before 1450. L. Venturi, op. cit., places them in their correct period.
- 76 Dimensions: (a) $12 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ in., (b) 12×19 in., (c) $11\frac{1}{2} \times 19$ in., (d) $11\frac{1}{2} \times 15$ in. Coll.: Charles Butler. Ex.: R.A. Old Masters, 1887, New Gallery, 1893-4, *Baptism* only, no. 18, R.A. Old Masters, 1896, B.F.A.C., 1904. Described Langton Douglas, *Catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Sienese Paintings*, 1904, nos. 53-4. Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 212, as in the Morgan Library, New York.
- 77 Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 420: "It has been associated with two other pictures in the same collection, which were also shown at the exhibition, but they are works of a much later period and we shall return to them later on." Id., 448, reference to two of the other panels; date of B.F.A.C. exhibition misprinted as 1907.
- 78 Dimensions: $11 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ in. Breck, *Art in America*, 1914, 186 (repr.).
- 79 Dimensions: $10\frac{1}{4} \times 9$ in. Coll.: Auspitz. Ex.: Italian Exhibition, Royal Academy, 1930, no. 78. Formerly attributed to Giotto. Fröhlich-Bum, *Pantheon*, 1932, 400.
- 80 Dimensions: $10\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in. Coll.: Sir George Donaldson (bt. Agnew). Hendy, *Catalogue of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Collection*, 1931, 174, first connected this panel with that in the then Auspitz collection.
- 81 Dimensions: $9\frac{7}{8} \times 14\frac{1}{8}$ in. Reddie-Anderson Gift, 1913.
- 82 *The Nativity* and *The Adoration* have identical settings, on the left a hut and behind shepherds in a rocky landscape. The scheme of the Bondy picture is tight and careful, in part an inversion of that of the Mellen *Adoration*; that of the Boston *Christ in the Temple* goes back ultimately to Taddeo Gaddi.
- 83 Comstock, *Int. Studio*, 1927, Aug., 47. Coll.: Somers, Hamilton.
- 84 Dimensions: $15 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Ex.: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1927, Loan Exhibition of Italian Painting, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1933, no. 51.

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- 85 No. 6. Dimensions: 31 × 25 cm. Coll.: Miller von Aichholz, Vienna.
- 86 Nos. 126, 127. Dimensions: 40 × 14 cm.
- 87 Dimensions: 45.7 × 14 cm. Coll.: A. Kann, Paris. Dussler, *Burlington Magazine*, 1, 35, dates in the early 'thirties.
- 88 No. 18, Perkins, *La Diana*, 1931, 98.
- 89 I know this picture only from a photograph sent me by Dr. Van Marle.
- 90 Dimensions: 32.5 × 22.5 cm. Formerly in the hands of Frascione, Naples, and Bottenwieser, Paris. Repr. *Art News*, Dec. 10th, 1927, 1.
- 91 Berenson, *Dedalo*, 1931, 629 seq.: "Fu questa imagine dipinta probabilmente su un cartone di sua mano, e sarebbe otioso attribuirla all'uno o all'altro dei suoi anonimi collaboratori." King, loc. cit., 237, refers to this picture as "the lost panel."
- 92 No. 179. Dimensions: 60 × 50 cm. Siena catalogue, 1842, as "Maniera di Giovanni di Paolo." Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 392: "This might indeed be one of his youthful works." Perkins, *Nuovi Appunti*, 184.
- 93 Dimensions: 40 × 20 cm. From the Galleria Chigi, Siena; Somzée Sale, no. 286 (Cat., pl. XXIV). The original wings of the picture are missing.
- 94 A. Venturi, *L'Arte*, loc. cit.
- 95 Brogi, *Inventario*, 1897, 187. Dimensions: 1.11 × 0.56 m. Perkins, *Pitture Senesi*, 179, no. 193, as "maniera di Giovanni di Paolo." Berenson and Van Marle, op. cit., as by Giovanni di Paolo himself.
- 96 Dimensions: 44 × 47 cm. Coll.: Kaufmann, Berlin. Kaufmann sale, 1918, no. 29. Repr. sale catalogue.
- 97 Dimensions: 22.5 × 13.5 cm. Coll.: Ramboux, Cologne, Mengelberg, Utrecht. Ex.: Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, 1934. Van Marle, *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1935, 300: "opera di vecchiaia." I am greatly indebted to the owner for getting this charming little picture specially photographed.
- 98 Dimensions: 23½ × 71½ cm. *Pantheon*, March, 1928, 133.
- 99 Almost erased. The attribution seems first to have been put forward by Berenson, op. cit., 1909.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

- 100 The suggestion of Berenson, *op. cit.*, 1936, 214, that this fresco is an early studio work seems scarcely justified.
- 101 Perkins, *Pitture Senesi*.
- 102 Romagnoli, *op. cit.*, iv, 326.
- 103 Brandi, *Dedalo*, xi, 722 seq. Perkins, *La Diana*, 1931, 196, gives the picture to an "anonimo senese del sec. XV." But I agree with Brandi in differentiating the author of the *Last Supper* from the painter responsible for the other frescoes of the cycle.
- 104 The technical similarities which Brandi finds between this fresco and those in S. Caterina della Notte and S. Leonardo al Lago seem to me entirely mythical.
- 105 Romagnoli, *op. cit.*, iv, 328. The basis of this statement is perhaps the extract from the Libri Conticorrenti of the Ospedale mentioning "la dipentura di 2 libri del capitolo" printed in extenso in n. 9 to this chapter. Romagnoli also notes that "la compagnia di San Gherardo possedeva in un messale una bella miniatura figurante la Crocifissione, la quale andò smarrita nei tempi scorsi."
- 106 No. G-I-8. Dimensions: 63 × 40 cm. F. 217. The arms of the abbey of Lecceto are at the bottom of the first illuminated page. The book was first associated with Giovanni di Paolo by D'Ancona, *L'Arte*, vii, 385, when it was shown at the Mostra of 1904 (Vet. H, no. 676), but a direct attribution to the master seems to have been due to Berenson, *op. cit.*
- 107 A. Venturi, *L'Arte*, 1923, 192.
- 108 Milanesi, *Nuove Indagini ecc. per servire alla Storia della Miniatura*, in Vasari, *Vite*, Florence, Le Monnier, 1880, vi, 309-11.
- 109 Dami, *Dedalo*, 1923-4, ii, 1, accuses Milanesi of describing the book "non precisamente." He returns to Giovanni di Paolo, ff. 25a, 88b, 163a and 164b. Milanesi omits from his list ff. 43b, 88b, 163a and 164b.
- 110 For this subject see Vigo, *Le Danze Macabre in Italia*, Livorno, 1878.
- 111 Graduale H-I-2.
- 112 Excision from a Gradual. Overall dimensions: 26 × 19 cm. Coll.: Denistoun, Hensley Henson.

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- 113 This dating is substantiated by the fact that three miniatures in the same collection from the same book, nos. ii, 9, ii, 13, ii, 14, showing respectively a *Scene from the Childhood of a Franciscan Saint*, *St. Michael and the Dragon*, and *An Angel censuring an Altar*, are by an unknown hand repeating mannerisms which seem to be derived from Fei.
- 114 Dami, loc. cit., made this very surprising discovery when his article was already in print; he was not therefore able to elaborate the attribution. Dami doubtless confused the hand with that responsible for the greater part of Gradual H-I-2 discussed above.
- 115 Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 452. *Holford Catalogue*, 1927, i, nos. 27 (a), (b), (c). The miniatures show respectively a *Female Saint*, *The Adoration of the Cross*, and *A Holy Monk*. Dimensions: (a) 15.2 × 9.1 cm., (b) 14.6 × 10.5 cm., (c) 15.2 × 13.2 cm.
- 116 I know the Dante Codex only from the one reproduction published by Roger Fry in the *Burlington Magazine*, vi, 1904-5, 312. The photograph shows no reason whatever for supposing it Giovanni di Paolo's work. Whether the book contains other more plausible miniatures Fry does not say. His identification of a domed building in the background with the Florentine Duomo without its lantern is purely fanciful; the building is one which can be paralleled in other works by Giovanni di Paolo and elsewhere in Sienese painting. Weigelt, *Thieme-Becker Künstler Lexikon*, xiv, 136, says correctly: "Diese Miniaturen sehen doch sehr anders aus, als die sechzehn unbezweifelbaren Buchmalereien Giovannis in den Corale G-I-8."
- 117 Marlay Bequest; unnumbered. Tentative ascription of Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 211.
- 118 D'Ancona, *L'Arte*, loc. cit., associated a second chorale (Vet. D, no. 679 in the Mostra of 1904 as manner of Sano di Pietro) as being "vicino a Giovanni di Paolo." The author of four of the Pienza graduals seems to have assimilated Giovanni di Paolo's landscape methods (vet., A, B, C, D).
- 119 D'Ancona, *La Miniature Italienne*, 1925, 84. The failure of so sensitive a critic to recognise the very singular merits of Giovanni di Paolo's work is curious. His objection that "au lieu de miniaturistes de métier, Sienne eut des peintres qui transportaient dans l'espace restreint d'un parchemin . . . les méthodes picturales" is scarcely relevant to the issue, which is primarily one of quality.

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1463-1483

ANY analysis of Giovanni di Paolo's late style must remain tentative and in places revelational. The two decades following the completion of the Pienza altarpiece contain no securely dated work. Moreover, the body of painting confronting the critic as necessarily belonging to this period shows an unevenness of quality which were it not a deplorable fact would be utterly incredible. One critic only¹ has made a serious effort to determine for what proportion of this work Giovanni di Paolo was not himself responsible, but the figure of Giacomo del Pisano, to whom a heterogeneous mass of autograph and *bottega* work has been handed over, in fact contributes little to an understanding of Giovanni's personality. The main danger in dealing with school work of so low a character is that of over-rationalising it; the right place for refuse is the dust-bin.

The period presents a further problem more profound than that of attribution. The pictures which Giovanni di Paolo is accepted as having painted with his own hand during the last fifteen years of his life reveal an extension of his personality which even the Pienza altarpiece can scarcely have led us to anticipate. Before 1463 he was, as we have seen, a formal eclectic. We have no reason to assume that in his last period his method as distinct from his style changed, and we may postulate, therefore, that the real explanation of the stylistic transformation to be discussed is not that he ceased to absorb the ideas of other people, but that the ideas he absorbed were of a kind he was unsuited to assimilate.

1463-1483

At the beginning of this period must be placed a *Madonna and Child enthroned with four Angels* in the Chiesa Parrocchiale of Poggioferro (Maremma).² Directly dependent on the Pienza altarpiece it is the central panel of a dismembered polyptych, of which the wings are lost. Above the throne are two fair-haired angels dressed in blue and yellow; at the lower corners of the picture two more angels kneel. The Virgin's dark blue cloak and gold and crimson dress are offset by the steel-blue throne and backed by a curtain composed of peacock's feathers. An inscription below, "Advocata Podiiferri, ora pro nobis," was added (on a separate piece of wood) when the picture was moved to Poggioferro from the larger church in which it must originally have stood. The type of the Madonna is extremely similar to that of the female saint on the right of the Pienza altarpiece; it is an exaggerated example of the tendency towards rounder and more featureless contours, which a comparison between the Pienza saint and the figure on the extreme left of the Friedsam polyptych of a decade earlier shows to have been part of Giovanni's make-up at this time. The technique is broader than that of the Pienza picture (the heads of the angels, for example, are coarsely sketched in over heavy green under-painting) and contrasts unfavourably with that of the earlier altarpiece.

Also products of the early 'sixties are a fragmentary *Virgin crowned by an Angel*, formerly in the Chiesa collection, Milan,³ and known to me only from reproduction, and a *Madonna and Child with two Angels before a Rose-Hedge* in the collection of the Baroness de Kerchove, London.⁴ The head of the Chiesa Virgin is the same smooth oval as the head of the Pienza Madonna and the angels of the Kerchove picture a tidier repetition of those in the Poggioferro altarpiece. But the second of the panels is unexpectedly ingratiating; its design, deriving in a general way from some Florentine example by Pesellino or the pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, is among Giovanni's happiest. He exercised his talent for botanical observation all too seldom, but whereas other factors in his style were subject to change and diminution his feel-

mus tecum. Wel.

XXV



Incipit officium

The Triumph of Death (Biblioteca Comunale, Siena)

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ing for natural forms seems to have been a constant. When he painted flowers he imbued them with a vividness and animation, which suggests that like Leonardo and Cotman he realised their mere shape as the tangible expression of an intense individual life. The pink roses of the Kerchove panel (the artist's most important extended flower painting) writhe and intertwine with an enchanted insistence rivalled neither by Pier Francesco Fiorentino himself nor by the only Sienese painter with a comparable talent, Benvenuto di Giovanni. 1463-1483

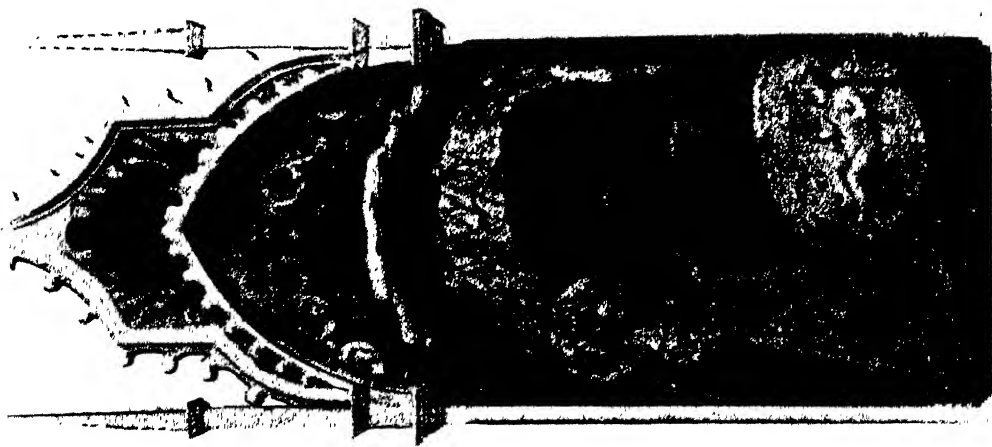
Nor did the charm exemplified in the Kerchove *Madonna* immediately evaporate. A *Virgin adoring the Child with SS. Galganus and Ansanus* in the Musée de Cherbourg (Plate XXVIA) ⁵ belongs to the same tranquil phase. The scheme—the Virgin kneels on the left facing the Child, Who lies backwards diagonally across the picture, in front of a rocky cave crowned by a choir of flying angels—is pleasantly fresh, while the saints at the side, looser in design than the Pienza saints but firmer in execution than the angels of the Poggioferro *Madonna*, contribute to the leisurely harmony. The picture may be tentatively assigned to the late 'sixties.

We have one explicit clue as to the character of Giovanni di Paolo's further development. In the Siena gallery is a polyptych of the *Assumption* from the church of S. Silvestro near Staggia, ⁶ which in 1872 is supposed to have been signed and dated OPUS GIOVANNI DE SENIS MCCCCLVXX. ⁷ To-day it shows the remains of a second inscription, ⁸ but the base, with its signature and date, is lost. The inversion in the last three figures of the date testifies to the accuracy of the cataloguer who transcribed it; we need feel no difficulty in accepting the picture as a work of 1475. The recorded form of the date of the polyptych, however, is not its only trace of careless craftsmanship. The predella and pilasters can by no conceivable feat of imagination be considered as Giovanni di Paolo's work and a comparison with the other paintings which he must have executed at this period suggests very strongly that the greater part of the execution of the upper panels was

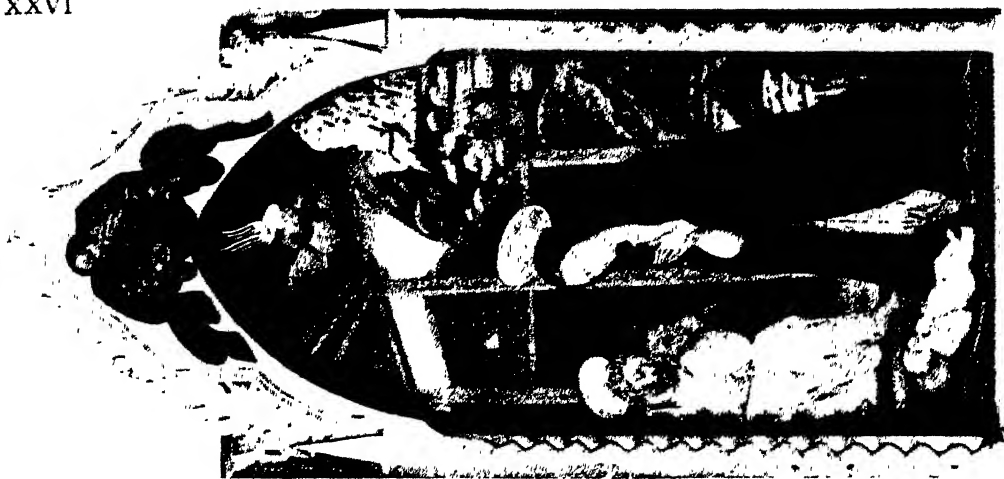
1463-1483 also carried through by pupils. The central panel shows more substantial traces of his hand. It is easy enough to claim that at so late a stage in his career the master's brush may well have faltered; I feel quite certain that that is not the correct explanation of the demerits of this picture. Giovanni di Paolo lived on and we suppose painted for nearly a decade after its completion, and no misconception could be more disastrous than that of pointing to this polyptych as a criterion for the kind of work he was producing eight years before his death. We have independent evidence that at this time his *bottega* was a considerable affair. The accounts, for example, of work executed for the Cappella di S. Catarina in Fontebranda prior to May 1474,⁹ record a payment of "lire quindici a maestro Giovanni di Paolo e compagni per più uopere; dice, che esso gli aiutò al sopradetto lavoro." In the case of the present polyptych such a reference should explain much that would otherwise be puzzling. The two saints on the left of the central panel go back to stock motifs. The St. John in his pink cloak and blue-lined skin has a long pedigree; the type is one that seems to have been invented by Giovanni and taken over on at least two occasions by Sassetta. The Bernardino is a shop version of the customary recipe, and the right-hand figures, SS. George and Gregory the Great, though they derive from no known prototypes, are rigid in design and disagreeable in quality. The four figures, however, particularly in such details as their preposterously splay feet and their looped-up eyelids, run true to the mannered calligraphy towards which Giovanni di Paolo's late style tended. The central panel, which is higher in quality than the rest, reveals the same linear insistence. The Virgin's face and hair are coarse; both ears are stuck flat on to the surface of the face. The parted mouths of the surrounding angels, their heavy contours, are grotesque, and the colour is bright, decorative and hard.

The most plausible explanation of the very disagreeable qualities of this panel, which seems to come entirely from Giovanni di Paolo's own hand, is that it was an attempt to emulate the successful painters of the

- (a) The Nativity (*Musée de
Cherbourg*).
 (b) The Nativity (*Gallery of
the Prince Primate of
Hungary, Esztergom*).



(a)



(b)

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last third of the century and particularly Matteo di Giovanni. In 1463-1483 general the market to which the younger generation of Sienese painters, Matteo first and foremost among them, sold their wares, seems to have demanded a different kind of competence to Giovanni di Paolo's.¹⁰ Its emphasis, like the emphasis of all spontaneously classical painting at every period, was on draughtsmanship. Only a year before Giovanni di Paolo painted the Staggia polyptych, Matteo di Giovanni had completed an *Assumption* for S. Eugenio outside the Porta S. Marco,¹¹ a picture in which the pencil was used with a resource and virtuosity unknown to Sienese painting before that date. It is very likely that the method of Matteo di Giovanni's *Assumption* influenced the method of Giovanni di Paolo's, that Giovanni wished not to copy Matteo's scheme but to produce a picture which was effective along the same lines as his rival's. We have one positive proof that Giovanni was directly affected by Matteo at this period. A *Madonna and Child with two Angels* in the Kress collection (Plate XXVIIA)¹² is an obvious copy of the kind of Madonna picture Matteo most frequently produced. It mimics Matteo's ornamental treatment of detail, the smile which plays round the lips of his figures, his sharp nervous contours. But it mimics them how unsuccessfully! The contour is clumsy, the detail heavy, the smile a horrible grimace. The value of the picture is that it shows us how at the very time he was engaged on the Staggia polyptych Giovanni di Paolo opened himself to influence from Matteo di Giovanni to an extent even greater than the polyptych alone would have led us to expect.

The principles that inspired the Staggia *Assumption* came to full fruition in one picture, a large figure of *St. Jerome* in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena (Plate XXIXB).¹³ The fact that the panel is surmounted by a Christ in Benediction shows that it must have been either a separate votive panel or itself the centre of a polyptych. It is typical of a consciously ascetic conception that St. Jerome's flesh is brown and that his hands are rough. The crimson of his cloak and

1463-1483 cappa and his cerulean dress are offset by a pale green tiled floor. His right arm rests on a volume of epistles, bound in red and ornamented in light blue; the book is supported on a chrome-coloured rest, the stem of which is decorated with a foliated pattern. A comparison between the morphological characteristics of this very fine panel and those of the best of the lateral panels of the polyptych, that with St. Gregory the Great, shows the line of the eyebrows, the hands and the arrangement of the drapery where it falls over the feet, are the same in each case. But though both are of much the same date, in quality the St. Jerome (if anything rather the later of the two) is infinitely the superior, and those who wish to see for themselves in what respects the Staggia polyptych falls short of Giovanni di Paolo's own standards at this time can scarcely do better than use the single panel as a touchstone of authenticity. It has the immutable decision of some granite-cut monolith.

In contrast to the Staggia polyptych the *chef d'œuvre* of Giovanni di Paolo's late style, the altarpiece which he painted for the abbey of S. Galgano, would probably, could it be reconstructed, rank as an æsthetic unit higher than any other of his large-scale works. Four lateral panels and the predella are at present in the Siena Accademia,¹⁴ arranged with an unfailing sense for the inappropriate round the *Crucifixion* of 1440. They are supposed in their present order to represent SS. Bernard, Romuald, Mary Magdalen and Galganus. Dispassionate study of the predella¹⁵ tells us all we need know about the composition of the picture, the real identity of the four saints and the subject of the missing central panel. Still intact, it consists of six scenes, separated by small panels of flowers and closed in at the ends with two larger panels showing the stemma of S. Galgano. These six scenes represent beyond all doubt, *St. Benedict promulgating his Rule*, *The Communion of the Magdalen*, *The Virgin taking leave of the Apostles*, *The Death of the Virgin* (Plate XXXB), *St. Galganus at Montesiepi*, and *The Vision of St. Bernard*. The four lateral panels therefore, according



Madonna and Child
(Mr. Samuel Kress, New York)



Madonna and Child with SS. Jerome and Agnes
(Mr. Robert Lehman, New York)

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to the ordinary rules of construction, represent St. Benedict (not St. Bernard), St. Bernard (not St. Romuald), the Magdalen and Galganus, and were originally arranged with the two monastic saints at the extreme ends on either side, with the Magdalen inside on the left of the central panel and St. Galganus on the right. The two middle panels of the predella afford a clue to the subject of the central panel. If that panel had shown the Virgin and Child, it is possible that one of the lower panels would have shown the *Death of the Virgin*. What is inconceivable is that in those circumstances the second of the panels should have represented the *Virgin and the Apostles* (a redundant scene) and not the *Assumption*.¹⁶ In other words, given the subjects of these two predella panels, the central panel of the altarpiece can only have been an *Assumption*. Once this fact has been ascertained other conditions become obvious. The panel would have been rather less broad than the *Crucifixion*, which is at present substituted for it. Indentations on either side in the wood of the upper edge of the predella show that the polyptych had pilasters. These would necessitate all four lateral panels being moved inwards to a perceptible degree, and we can thus estimate the maximum dimensions of the centre. Further, the radiating lines outside the haloes of the side panels would probably have been repeated in the halo of the Virgin. All these points go to show that the central panel was an *Assumption* now in the Collegiata at Asciano (Plate XXVIII).¹⁷

Still less than the full-length saints in Siena has this magnificent creation met with appropriate recognition. Flanked at present by two early panels of Matteo di Giovanni, the left side of a dismembered polyptych, it is the finest of Giovanni's versions of a composition which the whole history of Sienese painting shows to have been almost fool-proof. Its light, brittle tonality echoes the character of the rest of the components of the altarpiece. The white and gold of the Virgin's cloak into which the artist has introduced an emphatic black seven-leaf design, and the shell-pink dress visible at her throat are repeated in the

1463-1483 surface and lining of the cope worn by St. Benedict. The grey landscape below is pitched in the same key as that at the feet of the St. Galganus, while the pink cloak of the St. Thomas and the dresses of the surrounding angels show a comparable reticence. The figures of the two monastic saints at either end, both with the parchment cheeks and gnarled hands of the ascetic, have a magnificently sculptural quality, not the less effective for their contrast with the geranium-coloured cloak of the Galganus and the Magdalen's gold dress.

It seems extremely likely that the colour restriction of the whole polyptych is a reflection of the indeterminate æsthetic experiments in which the later Sieneſe quattrocentisti seem sporadically to have indulged. It is still more pronounced in the superb predella. The central scenes represent a departure from authority. Duccio treating these two same subjects compressed into them an intolerable, imponderable sense of loss and resignation. Giovanni di Paolo by different methods comes near the strained eloquence of Duccio's interpretation. Broad in execution, languid in colour, his transcriptions live with the passionate animation that imagination of the first order can alone promote.

Three of the four remaining scenes are filled with landscapes, but landscapes less fanciful and intellectualised¹⁸ than those of the painter's earlier maturity. Giovanni di Paolo's earlier landscapes, the backgrounds even of the Ryerson panels, had been independent, imaginative, detached—exquisite evocations drawn out of reality without essential relation to it. Nor would such a relation perhaps have been established, had Giovanni di Paolo developed independently of the influences round him. He did not. And as what, for want of a better approximation, we may call a romantic attitude to landscape emerged hesitantly soon after 1470—in the work, for example, of a rustic, often genuinely rural painter like the young Neroccio—Giovanni di Paolo must have become aware of it. The landscape of these panels with its faint blue washes, dun-coloured hills, pale dull green trees,



The Assumption of the Virgin
(*Collegiata, Asciano*)

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represents the emanation at an unexpected point of a prevailing mood.¹⁹ 1463-1483

If we accept the proposed date of 1475 for the Staggia altarpiece, the inference is that the Asciano *Assumption* must be rather earlier. The central panel of the former is considerably narrower than that of the latter and it seems on the whole more probable that the design of the smaller panel derives from the larger than that the Staggia picture was later expanded into the magnificently coherent scheme of that at Asciano. A further point worth noting is that the design on the robe of the Virgin in the much earlier Servanzi-Collio *Assumption* is repeated in the Asciano picture, but not in Matteo's S. Eugenio altarpiece nor in Giovanni di Paolo's own polyptych at Siena. My inclination is to believe that while the Asciano picture antedates that in Siena, it is not very considerably earlier. It was certainly painted after 1470 and probably shortly before 1475.

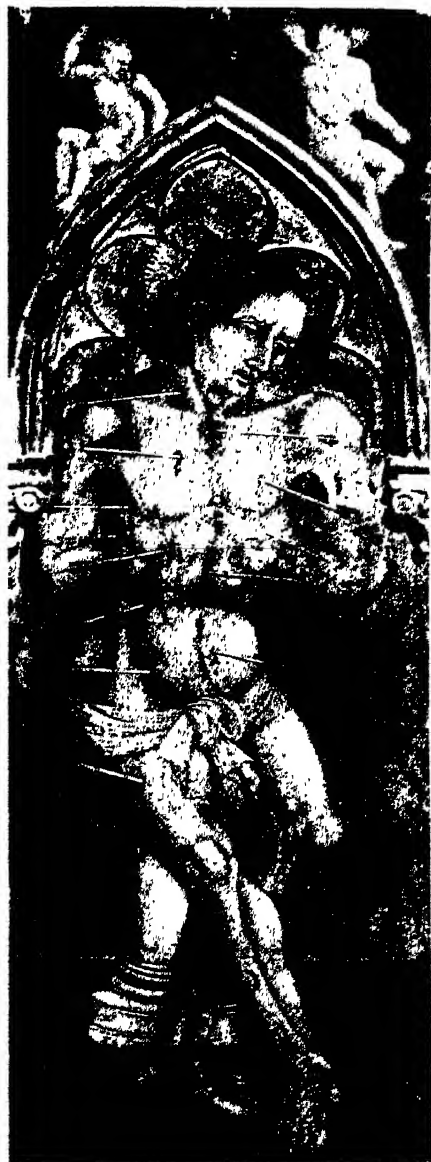
Given this assumption, we may make one deduction, that the consistent weakening and subtilising of Giovanni di Paolo's colour which we have observed taking place in the late 'fifties and 'sixties was arrested during the last decade of his life. The fact is more important than its explanation; it was due, we may suppose, partly to external influences (the Matteo di Giovanni connection, for example) and partly to the increasing share students must have taken in the execution of the septuagenarian artist's commissions. In contrast with the slow development which leads towards the Galgano predella the change in favour of the conventionally effective must have been abrupt. But in one large picture we see the transformation as it were in process. That picture is a *Madonna and Child enthroned with SS. David, Ambrose, Bartholomew, Paul, Laurence, Moses, Thomas, John Baptist, Peter, Stephen, and twelve Angels* in the Accademia at Siena.²⁰ In the pilasters are ten saints and above to right and left the Angel of the Annunciation and the Virgin Annunciate on fairly large panels cut to fit the semicircular top of the main picture. Above these again is a second

GIOVANNI DI PAOLO

1463-1483 c. 1465, and one would judge of less austerity. A poor little panel of *SS. Fabian and Sebastian adored by two Members of a Confraternity* is in the National Gallery.³⁵

* * * * *

Were these all the larger panels which had survived from Giovanni di Paolo's last period, the critic would indeed be fortunate. They are not. And the list, as we continue it, brings us unequivocally to the question of the master's *bottega*. Only one of the pictures we have hitherto discussed reveals the hand of an assistant with a recognisable and pronounced personality, the Staggia *Assumption*, the pilasters and predella of which show deformations of drawing radically different from any in Giovanni di Paolo's authentic work. The same hand is apparent in two other large pictures, a *Virgin and Child with four Angels*, *SS. Bernardino, Fabian and Sebastian* in the Propositura at Trequanda³⁶ and a *Madonna and Child enthroned with a Donor, six Angels*, *SS. Nicholas of Bari and Galganus* in the Walters collection, Baltimore.³⁷ Both date from the same period as the Staggia *Assumption*. The central panel of the Trequanda altarpiece seems to be mainly by Giovanni di Paolo; the Bernardino in the foreground pleads with eloquent gesticulation before the gold-clad Child, while an angel on the right emphasises the significance of the scene with a scroll inscribed: "Petite et dabitur vobis." But the small saints in the pilasters and the lateral panels reveal precisely the same coarse mannerisms as the Staggia predella. These mannerisms recur throughout the whole of the Baltimore altarpiece. The right-hand panel of this picture is a copy of the Galganus in the S. Galgano *Assumption*. In general the figures are stubby, the drawing flaccid and feeble; particularly to be noted are the type of the Child, badly modelled and thick-set (the hips are wider than the chest and the ankles fatter than the knees), and the unexpected deficiencies in details of perspective, the throne for example. With the central panel of the Baltimore altarpiece a *Madonna and Child with SS. John, Peter, Paul and Andrew*,



St. Sebastian
(Herr Ernest Saulmann, Florence)



St. Jerome
(Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena)

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in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York,³⁸ immediately connects itself. We have thus four altarpieces which can be substantially attributed to a single hand. What further light can be cast on their mysterious author? 1463-1483

So far we have made one reference only to the figure of Giacomo del Pisano, who at an unknown date signed a triptych of the *Madonna and Child between SS. Peter and Mary Magdalen*, formerly in the Van Stolk collection, Haarlem.³⁹ The triptych reveals influences which from reproduction seem obviously to be those of Giovanni di Paolo. But nothing whatever is known about the painter. Van Marle, who had the advantage of knowing the picture at first hand, attempted to associate it with a number of panels generally ascribed to Giovanni di Paolo, but in his opinion not by the master. I have not thought it worth while to record here every instance in which I disagree with Van Marle's attribution. But I cannot follow other critics in dismissing Giacomo del Pisano out of hand.⁴⁰ A good photograph of the signature on the Van Stolk triptych⁴¹ makes it impossible to deny its authenticity. So far as anything in art history is certain, the activity of Giacomo del Pisano is a fact. In the Van Stolk triptych itself there is very little definitely to connect the painter with the unknown assistant of Giovanni di Paolo discussed above. But a *Virgin and Child with three Angels and SS. Margaret, Peter, Paul and Nicholas*, acquired by Bottenwieser from an unspecified English private collection,⁴² provides a link which so far as morphology is concerned may well be strong enough to establish the identity between Giacomo del Pisano and our unknown painter. On this scheme Giacomo del Pisano, as his name denoted a provincial, would have been active in Giovanni di Paolo's studio from about 1470 on. There is no external evidence to show the chronological order of his pictures. But it would not be surprising if they dated largely between 1470 and 1483. In 1475 Giovanni di Paolo was seventy-two. Probability, therefore, favours the assumption that during the last eight years of his life he may have

1463-1483 left the execution of his important commissions to one favoured assistant.

Other assistants he doubtless had. A panel with that rare subject, *Christ and St. Thomas*, in 1934 in the possession of the Galerie Hansen at Lucerne,⁴³ seems neither by Giovanni di Paolo on the one hand nor Giacomo del Pisano on the other. A *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* at Radi⁴⁴ is no closer to the latter. And a small diptych of *The Madonna and Child and SS. John Baptist and Bernardino* in the Kestner Museum, Hanover, is by a third hand.⁴⁵

The very fine half-length of St. Anthony, formerly in the Benoit collection and now in the Louvre,⁴⁶ may at a stretch be considered to show Giovanni di Paolo's influence; I find no good reason for ascribing the picture to Neroccio. We are apt to-day to think of Giovanni di Paolo's late style as being so far archaistic that it could have had little value for contemporaries. But we can in fact point to a few pictures in which the painters, while obviously not in any sense pupils of Giovanni di Paolo, treated his types with a respect we might scarcely anticipate. Among these may be noted an *Annunciatory Angel*, produced in the orbit of Matteo di Giovanni and handled by Fischer of Lucerne in June, 1927,⁴⁷ and a *Madonna and Child with two wreathed Angels*, reproduced in the *Gazetta Antiquaria* for October 1st, 1931.⁴⁸

* * * * *

For those interested in the psychology of style, the predella panels of Giovanni di Paolo's last period provide a study no less fascinating than those of his middle years. So far as chronology is concerned they present fewer problems. We have no predella panel from Giovanni's hand later than the S. Galgano altarpiece, and the Galgano predella may therefore be put up as a *terminus ad quem* for earlier panels. We have already indicated in what respects the contrast between a late predella of the middle period and the Galgano predella is most striking. The transmutation of the style of the one into the style of the other was a gradual process, which seems to have been

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instigated by a corresponding change in the ageing artist's temperament. 1463-1483

The earliest of the late predellas must have belonged to some Church Father altarpiece like Matteo di Giovanni's at Pienza. Its two surviving panels were painted at a singularly happy moment at the very commencement of Giovanni di Paolo's last period, when his colour sense had reached its subtlest point and before his actual use of pigment had become thinner and less individual. Of the subject of the first, *St. Jerome appearing to St. Augustine* in the Schlossmuseum, Berlin (Plate XXXA), there can be no dispute;⁴⁹ the second, now in the Louvre, represents probably *Gregory the Great staying the Plague at the Castle of S. Angelo*.⁵⁰ The dimensions of the painted area are the same in each case, the heights being 38.5 and 38 cm. respectively and the widths 50 and 42 cm. The difference in width is accounted for by the appearance on either side of the Berlin panel of small bands of decorative flowers rather similar to those we have already noticed in the Galgano predella; in the Louvre panel these have been cut off. The predella would presumably have been completed with a *Crucifixion* and scenes from the lives of St. Jerome and St. Ambrose.

The panel in the Louvre has been very extensively restored and only the figure of St. Gregory, a processional banner and the rough lines of the landscape, remain to prove its authorship. But the St. Augustine is a product of quite extraordinary intensity and power. To right and left behind are fragments of deep green landscape and dim cypresses. The roof of the white building in the centre, in which St. Augustine sits in the act of composition, has darkened to deep copper; the marble inlay about the arches is pale yellow and the interior walls are lined with small grey projecting tiles. The vault is dull blue. At a plain wood reading-desk, covered with crimson volumes, sits the saint wearing his mitre and a cope of grey and gold. The meticulous treatment of the still-life—spectacles, glass jugs and a blue and white *albarello*—serves to enhance the actuality of the conception. In no other picture out-

1463-1483 side the St. John series did Giovanni di Paolo succeed in recreating the strange dream atmosphere appropriate to an event so bewildering and so mysterious.⁵¹

The analogies which exist between the Berlin *St. Augustine* and a small panel of *The Crucifixion* in the same gallery,⁵² require no emphasis. In both the use of what might well be described as an impasto and the deep, rich colour are the same. To the bottom of the panel at the right is the Piccolomini coat of arms. The Virgin and the St. John look back to the central panel of the S. Stefano alla Lizza predella. When Giovanni di Paolo had first decided to combine these figures, we may suppose he acknowledged to himself the intrinsic possibilities offered by their poses, the Virgin with her hands clenched above her head, the St. John in the act of moving forward, his arms stretched out to either side. The earlier composition had been unfortunate. In the Piccolomini predella panel, however, the figures, thanks to the narrow panel and a more subtle arrangement, form of their own accord a thoroughly integral design. A rare degree of consonance, too, existed at this time between such a subject and the summary brusqueness of Giovanni di Paolo's treatment; the turbulent drapery, the lurid lighting, the strained fingers, the open, agonised mouths have an overwhelming effect.

It is with something like regret that in Giovanni di Paolo's next work we return to the comparative placidity of almost contemporary life.

Of the many confusions that have arisen in connection with Giovanni's *œuvre*, none is more culpable than that regarding his nine *Scenes from the Life of St. Catherine of Siena*. The earliest mention of these little pictures occurs in the catalogue of the Ramboux collection, Cologne, in 1862.⁵³ In it they are listed as follows:

- 113. *St. Catherine invested with the Dominican scapula by SS. Dominic, Augustine and Francis.*
- 114. *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine with Christ.*
- 115. *St. Catherine and the Beggar.*

XXX St. Jerome appearing to
St. Augustine
(Schlossmuseum, Berlin)



The Death of the Virgin
(Accademia, Siena)



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- 116. *St. Catherine receives Communion from Christ.*
- 117. *St. Catherine's Prayer for the Recovery of her Mother.*
- 118. *St. Catherine and Pater Raimondo* (Plate XXXIA).
- 119. *St. Catherine before the Pope at Avignon.*
- 120. *St. Catherine's Vision of Christ.*
- 121. *The Death of St. Catherine* (Plate XXXIB).

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At the Ramboux Sale the panels were dispersed and they are now distributed between four collections. Nos. 113, 114, 115, 118, 119, and 120 are in the collection of M. Adolphe Stoclet, Brussels, no. 116 is part of the Friedsam Bequest in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 117 is in the Lehman collection, New York, and no. 121 passed recently from the Vanderlip collection to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. There are thus six panels in the Stoclet collection, not three as stated by Venturi and Van Marle,⁵⁴ or seven as listed by Berenson.⁵⁵ Dussler, in an article in the *Burlington Magazine*,⁵⁶ suggested that the Friedsam panel and the three of the Stoclet panels with which he was acquainted, formed part of one predella, without, however, pursuing his investigations so far as to discover that in the Ramboux collection the panels had a common provenance. All nine were purchased by Ramboux directly from Siena on information which is summarised in a note in his catalogue: "Diese neun Bilder, welche zu einem Gradino oder Predella . . . gehören, gelten für ein Werk des Giovanni di Paolo von Siena. Dieselben befanden sich ehemals in dem grossen Hospital della Scala; das dazu gehörige Hauptbild (gegenwärtig in der Gemälde Galerie der Akademie zu Siena) stellt die Aufopferung im Tempel dar. Dasselbe Gemälde wird auch dem angegebenen Meister zugeschrieben (M. 1342)." The large picture to which Ramboux refers is of course *The Presentation in the Temple* of 1447. Now we have no precise information about the movements of the *Presentation*, but we know two facts, that the picture was transferred to the Accademia before 1895 and that it does not appear in the catalogue of 1860.⁵⁷ But when Ramboux wrote the picture was

1463-1483 already in the gallery. It was moved there therefore between 1860 and 1862, and the evidence given to Ramboux about the Catherine predella was thus to within two years contemporary. We have consequently every reason to believe what Ramboux himself believed about the provenance of these nine pictures, that they came from the Ospedale della Scala.

But were they ever strictly a predella? They are nine in number. It is most unlikely that if they formed part of a predella, the central panel would not have been a *Crucifixion*; this would bring the total requisite of panels to the fantastic number of eleven. Further, none of the panels are conspicuously small. Except for no. 121, which measures $9\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in., they vary between $10\frac{3}{8}$ and $11\frac{3}{8}$ in. in height. In breadth the panels may be divided into two classes, nos. 113, 116, 117 and 120 varying between 7 and $8\frac{5}{8}$ in. and nos. 114, 115, 118 and 119 between 22 and $22\frac{1}{2}$ in. It will thus be seen that if all the panels were added together their total length would be between 10 ft. 6 in. and 11 ft., almost five feet greater than the predella of the average altarpiece. We are faced then with two alternatives. Either we must divide the nine panels between two predellas or we must decide that none of the panels ever formed part of a predella at all. From a narrative point of view any division is impracticable. The scenes are some of them of such small importance in St. Catherine's career that it is impossible to doubt that they belong to a considerable series. The conventional predella consisted of four or six panels illustrating the high-lights of the life of the saint with which it dealt. Giovanni di Paolo's Catherine panels do not do that. They seem an independent pictorial treatment of the saint's life as a whole, and we may regard it as probable that the series originally consisted of more panels than now survive, showing episodes the omission of which would otherwise surprise us. They may even have been arranged round some larger image of St. Catherine such as the contemporary half-length in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge.⁵⁸

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The series certainly ranks with Giovanni di Paolo's most sensitive works. Neither in design nor execution do they betray the broad emotionalism which we suppose to have inspired the Berlin *St. Augustine* and the Ryerson *St. John* panels. The element of hysteria in St. Catherine's make-up they ignore. But they endow the legend instead with a kind of feminine serenity, which gives it a peculiar if not an altogether authentic appeal. For Giovanni di Paolo the life of St. Catherine was a sublimation of the religious experience of the individual, an epitome of the ecstatic introversion it was his purpose to attain. Its colour echoes the quietude of its mood; exquisite harmonies of pale blue, pale yellow and dull pink mix with the oranges and reds the painter had found suited to the mystical progress of the Baptist. Dussler suggested a probable date for the panels as c. 1440, but so early a period is consonant neither with style nor subject. The cult of St. Bernardino began during the Saint's life and was in full train before his official canonisation. With St. Catherine of Siena it was different. Images made of her subsequently to her death and prior to her canonisation are practically non-existent. Her cult was a Piccolomini product, and it is therefore most unlikely that these pictures were commissioned before 1461, the year in which Giovanni di Paolo was engaged at Pienza, or executed until two or three years later.

Only three works survive which are both of the same period and the same high quality as these scenes, a triptych in the Siena Accademia showing *The Virgin and Child with Angels between SS. Nicholas, Lucy, Augustine, and Catherine of Alexandria*,⁵⁹ a *Madonna and Child* in the Platt collection,⁶⁰ and a cold little panel of *The Crucifixion*, visualised this time with its full complement of horsemen, conspiring priests and holy women, against a patterned landscape in the library of Christ Church, Oxford.⁶¹ The date assigned to the triptych has fluctuated considerably; the general view has been to date it at some period between 1427 (Jacobsen) and 1445 (Brandi and Van Marle). But the

1463-1483 technique is the technique of the Catherine panels. The forms of the saints in the wings, though they are more attenuated and refined, are repeated in the pilasters we suppose to have belonged to the S. Galgano polyptych; in both pictures the colour scheme is the same, a chalky pink, blue powdered with gold, dull brown and grey. The arrangement of the central panel adheres closely to the convention of a past generation—it is a shock to find the angels posed in the same way as the side figures of the Castelnovo Berardenga *Madonna* a full forty years earlier—but the thin, dead brush strokes and the ashy tone give the picture a curious charm.

The surviving Catherine panels are concerned with the symbols of an inner spiritual life rather than with the narration of external events. We may detect a rather similar preoccupation in the very literal mysticism of a predella of *Christ and Saints* in the gallery at Parma,⁶² allegorising the exhortation: "Qui non baiulat crucem suam et sequitur Me, non est Me dignus." Towards a suffering Christ, holding his cross, from either side approaches a long line of saints each supporting his own cross upon his shoulder. The saints discernible include SS. Peter, Bartholomew, Stephen, Leonard, Jerome, Benedict, Bernardino, Augustine, Francis, Clement, Paul Dominic, Catherine, Clare and Cecily. For this reason it is just possible that the predella was connected with the *Maestà* in the Siena Gallery (no. 575) already discussed, though its length (40 cm. shorter than that of the upper panel) presupposes small secondary panels or stemme on either side. The subject of *Christ Suffering and Christ Triumphant* had inspired the most interesting of Giovanni di Paolo's youthful pictures. Late in life, he turned to it again. In the Parma predella he elaborates his early vision of Christ as man; in a predella in the Siena Accademia we have his final thoughts on Christ as judge.

The Last Judgement, Paradise and Hell (Plate XXXII)⁶³ is intellectually one of the most fascinating productions of the whole Italian quattrocento. The arrangement of the picture requires only the

XXXI St. Catherine of Siena
and her Confessor
(*M. Adolphe Stoclet,
Brussels*)



The Death of St.
Catherine of Siena
(*Institute of Arts,
Minneapolis*)



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scantiest of descriptions. In the centre in a wheel of light heralded by four cherubim Christ sits in judgement, to the right kneels His precursor, to the left His mother; beyond each there float two benches containing six apostles, flanked on the left side by a group of holy innocents. Below the Christ there sits a female figure, on either side of whom two prophets stand, while in front a number of nude figures rise from their open tombs, soon to be judged. The left-hand part of the panel shows monks, prelates, laymen, received by angels in a flowery meadow, the right part the damned condemned to their peculiar punishments. 1463-1483

The subject of the *Paradiso* had already been treated by Giovanni di Paolo in a predella panel for the Guelfi polyptych when, under the influence of Fra Angelico and Gentile da Fabriano, his style was at its most spontaneous and his colour at its purest. The conception derived from Fra Angelico, but what we may call its general ethos was common to every Italian of the period. Of that ethos Rossi's effort ⁶⁴ to identify the saints in each of Giovanni's *Paradisi* on the basis of Dante's account is a fundamental misunderstanding; quattrocento Italy did not imagine Paradise to be inhabited only by the beatified. It is a curious fact that Giovanni's and Angelico's *Paradisi* was less specifically Dantesque than their conceptions of Hell. It may even be that Dante's description of a graded Paradise never appealed to the mediæval mind in the same way as his account of the grades of the Inferno. The mediæval mind was literal, and while, therefore, it was willing to accept the very practical idea that the punishment should fit the crime, it may well have shied at a vision of a Paradise in which reward was correspondingly proportionate to virtue, though invested with an illusory absoluteness to those in a condition to enjoy it. Giovanni di Paolo clung to the picture of a single finite Paradise to which the ordinary person, irrespective of his rank, might attain. Patently many of its inhabitants would have been monks, friars or nuns. But in principle it was a communist unit. For the painter, hedonist con-

1463-1483 cepts even in the later fifteenth century remained primary, extrovert and unsophisticated. In this predella the setting of the scene is much as it had been in the Guelfi *Paradise*. Behind there stands a row of small fruit-bearing trees, in front a meadow, perfumed with violets, pinks and lilies, in which children sport, mirroring the serene happiness of men reinvested with their pristine innocence. But in the treatment one essential point distinguishes this Paradise from earlier versions both by Giovanni di Paolo and Fra Angelico. Giovanni di Paolo, when he painted the New York *Paradiso* had been influenced not only by Angelico's types and style but by his narrative method. Angelico in a human sense was not an imaginative painter; the faces of his saints are infused with a single vacant serenity, which leaves the most enchanting of his compositions unrevealing and impersonal. Giovanni di Paolo in his earlier picture had had a temporary recourse to the same facile expedient of group emotion. By contrast in the Siena *Paradiso* each figure expresses distinct and individual reactions humility, surprise, affection and contentment, which have a peculiarly affecting quality.

We may assume that in this respect also Giovanni di Paolo's *Hell* would have differed from the lost *Hell* of Fra Angelico on which he must have based himself. Working on the indispensable basis of the *Inferno*, Angelico had visualised the Dantesque *cerchi* as a series of rocky caverns built up in a hill-side like the cells of a beehive. We can well understand that Giovanni di Paolo found Angelico's a satisfactory method of reducing the *Inferno* to pictorial terms. There can be little doubt that in each of his caverns he intended to reproduce some specific episode from the poem. But given the small scale and the simplicity of the treatment it is not always easy to identify each scene, and as in the case of the Paradise Rossi's interesting but rather arbitrary reading seems to require small modifications. On the left we see the mouth of Hell, a rocky archway above which a demon holds a scroll intended doubtless to represent Dante's famous injunction to would-be visitants.

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Three devils stand in the flaming entrance about to seize on a naked figure pushed towards them by the drawn sword of St. Michael. Theologically the first of Dante's *cerchi*, Limbo, the region of the unbaptised, was distinct from the inferno proper, and the painter therefore places it at the top left-hand corner of his mountain, on the far side of the river Acheron. The space on the immediate right of the entrance is occupied not by a *cerchio*, but by the scene of the judgement of Minos. The two spaces to the right of this scene are occupied by the *lussuriosi* and *golosi* respectively, and in the extreme right corner comes the only scene directly connected with Dante's text, an illustration of the lines: "E d'una parte e d'altra, con grand'urli voltando pesi per forza di poppa; percotevansi incontro . . ." from the description of the fourth *cerchio*. The same *cerchio* is also the subject of the episode above (the extreme right-hand scene in the second row from the bottom) which shows those guilty either of avarice or simony (probably the former). To the left of this we find a number of demons trampling on two naked figures who may well represent the unbelievers, and to the left again a devil driving the violent towards a wall of fire. At the top right-hand corner occur in turn the *cerchi* of traitors and carnal sinners. All the scenes are realised with extraordinary vigour, and the variety of the postures of the naked bodies are, in a painter of Giovanni di Paolo's limitations, little short of astonishing. Anatomical correctitude plays its special part in giving the horrible scenes an actuality which distinguishes them altogether from other Sienese versions of the subject.

But for modern spectators interest focusses itself on the central judgement scene. Angelico's renderings of the subject had been confused by the desire to impose the function of adoration on those who had been saved. Giovanni di Paolo's Paradise, however, has an independent existence without extrinsic relationship to the Christ in glory in the centre, and the scheme as a result is developed along quite dissimilar lines. Superficially the two rows of apostles are

1463-1483 reminiscent of the S. Maria degli Angeli picture. But the Christ Himself is radically different. Naked, the crown of thorns on His Head, the wound visible in His side, He sits in the middle of an aura of light, His right arm upstretched and His left pointing downwards to the earth. The figure has one striking counterpart, Dello Delli's *Suffering Christ in Judgement*, which was painted for the Cathedral of Salamanca in 1445-6. The pose of Delli's *Christ* was repeated in Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*, and Pudelko⁶⁵ has suggested tentatively that both may be traced to the same source, the *Last Judgement* recorded by Albertini⁶⁶ as painted by Masaccio for the Convento degli Angeli in Florence. In reference to Giovanni di Paolo's predella the suggestion is very plausible. He would certainly have been acquainted with the picture and he may well have taken from it ideas for both of his own treatments of the subject. Further, we may suppose that the example of Masaccio accounts to a large extent for Giovanni di Paolo's intelligent and ambitious nudes. The very poses of the four figures below the throne are redolent of fear and doubt.

When we discussed the St. John panels we noticed both their supreme narrative adequacy and their independent visual attraction. In the case of the present predella specifically æsthetic praise would be altogether out of place. We can point to the charm of the colour, the thin ultramarine, the primrose yellows, the pinks, the olive greens, to the fineness of the drawing, to the balance of the composition. But all these factors are subordinate more emphatically perhaps than in any other of Giovanni di Paolo's paintings to an ulterior purpose. Those miracles of imaginative concentration, the twelve apostles, two looking down with startled horror into the *Inferno*, the others with bowed heads facing towards the vision of Christ, impose themselves on us as the amazing epitomes of fundamental faith.

Giovanni di Paolo's *Last Judgement* gives us an insight into the quattrocento mind at once clearer and more penetrating than that provided by any other relic of the period. Like Verdi when he closed his



The Last Judgement (*Accademia, Siena*)

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Requiem, Maso di Banco in Santa Croce had objectified a dogmatic truth in the unit of the single soul, spiritually naked before the throne of his creator. Giovanni di Paolo too saw the scene as a deeply personal occurrence, the individual's last physical experience. If his work in general in his last period leaves us with many clues as to the character of the religious apprehension of the waning middle ages, we can say truthfully that in this picture as nowhere else we are enabled to penetrate its core, the blind mysticism of the ordinary man confronted with his future. 1463-1483

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- 1 Van Marle, *Bolletino d'Arte*, 1925, 528 seq.; *Development*, ix, 453 seq.
- 2 Dimensions: 1.70 × 0.78 m. Published by Bacci, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1909, 39, and Nicolosi, *La Montagna Maremmana* (Italia Artistica), Bergamo, 1911, 68. Brandi, *Dedalo*, xi, 722 seq., asks the strange question: "Quando si scoprì la Madonna di Poggioferro, chi avrebbe pensato a lui se ce ne fosse giunte soltanto la testa?" Van Marle, *Boll. d'Arte*, loc. cit., as Giacomo del Pisano. The picture is in disgraceful condition.
- 3 Listed by de Nicola, *Burlington Magazine*, xxiii, 1918, 47 n. Described by Van Marle, *Development*, ix, 452, as *Madonna and Child with Angels*. A photograph of the picture was kindly shown me by Mr. Perkins.
- 4 Dimensions: 18½ × 14½ in. From the Michael Dreicer collection, New York. Perhaps identical with a picture in the hands of Cassirer, 1919-20. Akin to the composition of this picture is that of a hitherto unpublished *Madonna and Child with two Angels before a Rose-Hedge* in the S. H. Kress collection, New York. This panel, which is datable considerably later than that in the possession of Baroness Kerchoue—perhaps c. 1470-5—shows a full-length Child standing on the lap of a half-length Virgin. The two angels are arranged unsymmetrically to either side and the rose-hedge appears over the heads of all four figures. Coll.: Amaro, Contini-Bonacossi. Other Sienese parallels for the conception are a perished *Madonna* in Deposito of the Siena Gallery (No. 395) by Benvenuto di Giovanni (wrongly catalogued as Girolamo di Benvenuto) and a small picture in the Museo dell'Arte Sacra at Grosseto.
- 5 No. 166. Dated by Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 422, c. 1445.
- 6 No. 324. Dimensions (without predella or pilasters): 1.97 × 2.14 m. Dimensions of predella: 0.42 × 2.53 m. Listed by Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, 1932, 249, as at Staggia; described correctly in *Pitture Italiane*, 1936, 213.
- 7 Cat. 1872, no. 339, 58-9.
- 8 . . . STA TAVOLA A FATO FARE CHECHO DI NANNI CINEGLI GIOVAN . . . DI . . . DELLA CHIESA DI SCA MARIA A ST . . . TATO OPA. . . This suggests that the polyptych was commissioned for a larger church at Staggia and later moved to the Oratory of S. Silvestro.
- 9 Milanesi, *Documenti*, ii, 340; the passage occurs "nella revisione della ragione

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di Giovanni Cigalini Carmarlingo della fabbriccha della chappella di santa Chaterina in Fontebranda dal Febbraio del 1465 fino al Maggio del 1474." We may infer that the objects of the commission were trivial; the sum of fifteen lire compares with thirty-one paid to Neroccio for his statue of St. Catherine and twenty-eight paid to Federighi for two "schaloni."

- 10 The descending graph of Giovanni di Paolo's fortunes at this period is illustrated in a suggestive way by three unpublished tax returns recorded in the books of the Lira in the Archivio di Stato, Siena; in each case the painter is taxed in the Compagnia di Scto. Giglio:

1441, Lira vol. 53, c. 90v.: Mo. Giovanni di Pavolo dipentore L. quattrocento novantuna.

1453, Lira vol. 56, c. 178: Mo. Giovanni di Pavolo dipentore L. cinquecento settantacinque.

1478, Lira vol. 71, c. 62v.: Mo. Giovanni di Pavolo dipentore L. trecento settantacinque.

The taxes paid in the three years in question are respectively den. 5, 5½ and 3¾.

- 11 National Gallery: no. 1155. Hartlaub, *Matteo da Siena und seine Zeit*, 69-72, 87 n. Micheli, *Guida di Siena*, 1863, 136, saw the picture in S. Eugenio and read on it the date 1474. He records a tradition that the picture came originally from Asciano. But this is surely most unlikely. Hartlaub, in an effort to corroborate Micheli's statement, declares that Cavalcaselle saw the picture in Asciano. The *Assumption* seen by Cavalcaselle, however, would almost certainly have been Giovanni di Paolo's own, then already in the Collegiata. The most likely supposition is that it was for the monastery of S. Eugenio that the National Gallery picture was painted.

- 12 Dimensions: 70 × 65 cm. Coll.: Donati, Perugia, Contini. Perhaps the picture mentioned by Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 461n.

- 13 No. 18. Dimensions: 2.05 × 0.91 m.

- 14 Nos. 199, 201. Dimensions of each pair of lateral panels: 1.88 × 1.02 m.

- 15 No. 198. Dimensions: 0.40 × 3.53 m.

- 16 As for example in the Bottenwieser-Cologne predella.

- 17 The height of the Asciano *Assumption* is 2.40 m. (7 cm. less than that of the Siena *Crucifixion*). Its width together with the lateral panels by Matteo

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di Giovanni is 2.20 m. Without them, but including its frame, it measures 1.11 m. The size of the Siena predella shows that the maximum width possible would be c. 1.10 m.

- 18 Jacobsen, *Das Quattrocento in Siena*, 45, makes the sensible comment: "Er dürfte auch einer der ersten gewesen sein, welcher die Natur mit einer gewissen Freiheit abgebildet und weit ausgedehnte Prospekte mit verhältnismässig niedrigen Horizont dargestellt hat."
- 19 The pilasters of the Galgano polyptych may well be nos. 190, 192 in the Siena Accademia. Dimensions: 1.57 × 0.15 m.
- 20 No. 575. Dimensions: 2.82 × 2.40 m.
- 21 Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, 1933, 102. The lunette is considerably earlier than the main panel.
- 22 Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 460, gives the greater part of the picture to Giacomo del Pisano. Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 213, qualifies it with "g.p."
- 23 Dimensions: 1.55 × 0.57 m. Listed by Brogi, op. cit., p. 27. Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 211, followed by Van Marle, loc. cit., notes a *St. Michael* in the same Canonica. This picture is mythica.
- 24 I know this picture only from a reproduction shown me by Mr. Perkins. The two angels are wreathed as in the Kress Madonna, the Child has one finger in the corner of his mouth and the style of the Virgin's hair-dressing is reminiscent of the Trequanda triptych.
- 25 Listed by Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*, 1909, but omitted in the revisions of 1930 and 1936.
- 26 (a) Perkins, *Art in America*, 1921, 45, (b) Repr. *International Studio*, 1927, August, 54. Both these pictures were originally in the collection of Lady Horner, Mells Park, Somerset. Until their separation in America they were always assumed to have formed parts of a single altarpiece. See also Berenson, op. cit., 1909.
- 27 Dimensions: 1.40 × 0.44 m.
- 28 Schubring, *Rass. d'Arte*, 1912, 163; *Zeitschr. für Christ. Kunst*, 1912, 162. Berenson, loc. cit., as in the Schnütgen Museum.

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- 29 No. 49. Dimensions: 70 × 33 cm. Presented by Arnold Ipolyi. Terey, *Katalog*, 1916, 51.
- 30 Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 458, says: "Quite recently I discovered the St. Luke in a private collection." Terey, *Kunstchronik*, xxvi, 1913-14, 486. I owe my composite plate of these pinnacles to the courtesy of Count Contini.
- 31 Catalogue, 1862, nos. 124, 125, 126 as Vecchietta.
- 32 No. 195. Dimensions: 0.67 × 0.40.
- 33 No. 208. Dimensions: 0.74 × 0.47.
- 34 No. 70. Dimensions: 0.98 × 1.45 m. Coll.: Toscanelli, Pisa. Toscanelli sale, 1883, catalogue Pl. XXVIII.
- 35 No. 3402. Dimensions: 94 × 84 cm. Coll.: Butler (sale Christie's, 1911). Presented in memory of Robert Ross, 1919. Borenius, *Burlington Magazine*, xxviii, 3, as Giovanni di Paolo, Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 458, as Giacomo del Pisano, Hutton, *The Sienese School in the National Gallery*, 1925, 58, as "the work of some Pisan imitator." This was always an independent votive panel: the donors may be compared with similar figures in a number of pictures in the possession of the Società di Pie Disposizioni, Siena.
- 36 Dimensions: 1.96 × 1.83 m. Brogi, op. cit., 611-12, as Giovanni di Paolo. Bargagli Petrucci, *Pienza, Montalcino e la Val d'Orcia*, Bergamo, 1911, 27.
- 37 No. 554. Dimensions: 2.00 × 1.87 m. Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 211, describes the Galganus as Ansanus. King, *Art Bulletin*, 1936, June, 237-9, as school work. This picture may be confidently identified with that seen by Brogi in the choir of the chapel of the Compagnia del SS. Sacramento e Carità, Frosini. Brogi's very detailed description, op. cit., 128, of the saints in the pilasters and lateral panels of this altarpiece tallies precisely with that of the altarpiece at Baltimore and the dimensions he records of the picture differ only by 10 cm. and 3 cm. respectively. In his day the lower part of the picture was much damaged by damp and the *cuspidi* above had been removed.
- 38 Dimensions: Central panel, 33 × 20 in., lateral panels, 27½ × 13 in. Coll.: Dr. Nevin, Rome; bequeathed by him to the Cathedral as an Orcagna. Edgell, *Art Studies*, iii, 1925, 35, dated the picture "shortly before 1440—let us say at a guess 1438." He considered that "it is improbable that anyone would dispute the attribution to Giovanni di Paolo." Van Marle, op. cit.,

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ix, 460, as Giacomo del Pisano, an attribution later accepted by Edgell, *History of Sienese Painting*, 1932, 222. This polyptych seems to be identical with one seen by Brogi, op. cit., p. 523, in the Antica Pieve della Madonna delle Nevi, at S. Giovanni d'Asso. He gives the dimensions of the picture as 1.18 × 2.00 m.

39 Van Marle, *Boll. d'Arte*, loc. cit.

40 Brandi, op. cit., 100-1, considers Giacomo del Pisano "se pure è esistito" an "inetta e dubbia figura." "Questo ignoto . . . è un nome pressoché inservibile nella Storia dell'Arte."

41 Shown me by Dr. Van Marle.

42 Dimensions: Central panel, 1.35 × 58 m., lateral panels, 1.24 × 42 m. Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 459, identifies the female saint as Agnes.

43 Dimensions: 76 × 43 cm. Later Paris, Benedict.

44 Listed by de Nicola, loc. cit., as a *Madonna and Child*.

45 No. ii, 186. Berenson, op. cit., 1936, qualified as "g.p."

46 No. 1696. Perkins, *Rass. d'Arte*, 1914, 165. Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 335, as Neroccio.

47 Dimensions: 73.8 × 42.5 cm. As Matteo di Giovanni.

48 Dimensions: 50 × 37 cm.

49 Coll.: Theodor Schiff, Paris, Figdor. Figdor Sale, catalogue, no. 10 (repr.).

50 No. 1659. Borghese Sale, July 3rd, 1891, as Masaccio. Durrieux's attribution to the school of Masaccio was first corrected by Berenson. Subject formerly described as *Pope Martin V entering the Castle of Sant'Angelo*.

51 Mr. Perkins informs me that he once saw a reproduction of a *Scene from the Life of St. Jerome* by Giovanni di Paolo attributed generically to the German School. I have entirely failed to trace this panel.

52 No. 1112b. Dimensions: 32 × 23 cm.

53 *Katalog der Sammlung Ramboux*, 1862, 21-2.

54 A. Venturi, *L'Arte*, 1922, 166; Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 431.

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- 55 Berenson, *op. cit.*, 1936, 211.
- 56 Dussler, *Burlington Magazine*, I, 36. It is hardly necessary to add that the suggestion put forward in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, New York*, 1932, November, 34, no. 54, that the *Yale Scene from the Life of St. Clare* formed part of this series is wholly erroneous.
- 57 Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca*, 96.
- 58 No. 85. Presented by Sir Joseph Duveen. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, ix, 440, wrongly describes the figure as *St. Clare*. Mr. Perkins kindly gives me a reference to a bust of *St. Catherine of Siena* holding a lily, formerly in the hands of Bassetti and measuring 24 in. across. I know nothing of this picture. But it may be identical with that in the Fogg Museum.
- 59 No. 178. Dimensions: 55 × 52 cm. Jacobsen, *Das Quattrocento in Siena*, 42; Brandi, *loc. cit.*, Van Marle, *op. cit.*, ix, 392 (c. 1436), 421 (c. 1445).
- 60 Dimensions: 12½ × 9 in.
- 61 No. 73. Dimensions: 26.5 × 32.9 cm. Landor-Duke Gift. Borenius, *Pictures . . . in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford*, 1916, 40-1 (repr.).
- 62 No. 423. Dimensions: 0.28 × 2.00 m. "Era attribuita a Simone Memmi. Levata dal guardomobile ducale e data alla galleria dal Demanio nel 1865." Perkins, *La Diana*, 1931, 200.
- 63 No. 172. Dimensions: 0.41 × 2.53 m. Della Valle who saw this picture in the collection of the Abbate Ciaccheri, *Lettere Senesi*, ii, 223, iii, 50 seq. attributed it to Ambrogio Lorenzetti. De Angelis, *Ragguaglio dei Quadri*, 1816, 50-1, gives it to Matteo di Giovanni, and Pini, *Catalogo*, 1842, 10, no. II, to Giovanni di Paolo. Incorrectly dated by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, ed. Borenius, v, 176, as 1453. Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, 43, believed without good reason that the design was "vielleicht vom Heiland in Jüngsten Gericht des Campo Santo zu Pisa inspiriert."
- 64 Rossi, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1921, xiv, 137 seq.
- 65 Pudelko, *The Art Bulletin*, xvii, 75 n.
- 66 Albertini, *Memoriale di Molte Statue e Pitture della Citta di Firenze*, 1863, 13: "Nelli Angeli: Nel devotissimo et bello convento delli Angeli sono molte tavole per mano di fra Lorenzo monaco loro, et uno Iuditio di fra Iohanni, et nel ii claustro di Thomaso Masacci."

CONCLUSION

IN 1480 Giovanni di Paolo married. In 1482 he made his will. A year later he was dead.¹

* * * * *

In the preceding chapters an effort has been made to assemble Giovanni di Paolo's extant paintings in a convincing chronological order. Chronology, however, is neither an independent nor a self-sufficient study. It is justified where it assists us to a fuller understanding of the organic character of the artist's personality and style. The *œuvre* of every painter is susceptible of rational interpretation. But on a foundation of scholastic criticism alone can such rationalisation found itself. The difficulties presented by Giovanni di Paolo's work are due less to the eccentricity of its imaginative character than to the abnormality of the chronological schemes to which it has been subjected. There is no need to emphasise here in what respects the synthesis we have attempted differs from those of Dr. van Marle and Mr. Berenson. In general we have suggested that Dr. van Marle's view of Giovanni di Paolo's development, though faulty in detail, is in outline the more correct. Were we to follow Mr. Berenson's view of Giovanni di Paolo's early style (to which he attributes predella panels from every period), we might feel, as he does, the need to explain its very individual character by postulating a "contatto con la contemporanea pittura bizantino."² But Giovanni di Paolo's work in an intelligible sequence demands no such fanciful theses. The formal qualities of his pictures were due to a succession of readily perceptible external influences, their literary residue to a temperament which, though it matured and deepened, never radically changed.

Giovanni di Paolo's visual peculiarities seem to have been directly

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dependent on and indeed to have acted in the ratio of the emotional impact on his mind of the episode he portrayed. To a degree uncommon in Italian painting the formal basis of the artist's style adjusted itself to his imaginative idiosyncrasies. But he did not become a pure expressionist. The realisation of attitude of mind we call expressionism is conditioned by imprecision of dogma on the one hand and by laxity in the principles of picture-making on the other. Fuseli and Klee are products of an age without dogmatic ideology, Grünewald of an environment in which iconography was loose enough to allow the uncontrolled imagination to penetrate its surface. But Giovanni di Paolo lived in a town, in a country, in a period, in which the demands of tradition and ecclesiastical patrons were strictly formalised. Whereas in northern Europe the nineteenth and twentieth centuries promoted the development of an expressionistic style, and in Germany the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did little to hinder it, the quattrocento in Siena put every possible obstacle in the way.

It is this fact which gives Giovanni di Paolo's narrative panels special significance. The temper of his early *Suffering Christ* is generated not by the abrogation of representational convention, but by a heightened realism inside accepted visual formulæ. Naturalistic detail, its bleeding wounds, swollen joints, bruised ribs, transforms the figure into an imaginative symbol. By parallel means the landscape of *The Flight into Egypt* is differentiated from a dozen others; the trees cast real shadows and the road is littered with real stones. This realist aspect of Giovanni di Paolo's art has been discussed by de Nicola.³ For de Nicola he was "the pupil who develops that trend to realism in the type which Sassetta had only accented and kept in harmony with his fundamental idealism" and his style consequently was a conflict "between typological realism and scholastic idealism." For the earlier phase of Giovanni di Paolo's style de Nicola's analysis holds good. But at a point in the very early 'fifties the painter abandoned the expedients we have noticed. He exchanged realism for what, were the term not contaminated by

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psychology, we might call super-realism, the effort that is to achieve a total authenticity by means not in detail realistic. Where de Nicola erred was in regarding Giovanni di Paolo's realism as an independent motivating force rather than as the symptom of a deeper instinct.

The germ of Giovanni di Paolo's stylistic growth was a vivid imagination inflamed by a deeply religious temperament. Emotional stress was not uncommon at the time. The revivalism of S. Bernardino was achieved by simple descriptive methods. A comparable directness gives Giovanni di Paolo's pictures their peculiar mystical intensity. The religious mystic is a person who, gifted with a literal faith in events or dogmas too far outside the range of the experience of the ordinary individual to be generally credible in a literal sense, goes on to endow with a symbolist significance concepts he had at first accepted as simple facts. Giovanni di Paolo's realism and super-realism seem to argue an emotional conviction of this literal, yet transcendental nature.

That literary painting has its peculiar validity we cannot doubt. The twin elements of form and narrative in the finite work of art are susceptible of individual extension to an infinite degree. We can conceive of some paintings whose form is so subtilised that the spectator is unconscious of emotional deficiencies, and of others so direct and so passionate that he ignores their fundamental formal incoherence. Giovanni di Paolo is one of the few Italian painters to have created a convincing and original imaginative world. As he emerged from the predominantly æsthetic orbit of Sassetta, the force of his own disposition slowly compelled him to transcribe his imaginative impressions with decreasing reference to æsthetic dictates. When we remember that at the end of his life he was working in competition with Matteo di Giovanni, Benvenuto di Giovanni and Neroccio dei Landi, painters whose object for the most part was a merely æsthetic appeal, the non-conformist character of his style appears most striking. Giovanni di Paolo was a Gerard Hopkins in a world of Swinburnes. He is often

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grotesque and sometimes rude. But his faults are the expression of an inner strain few other painters felt, and his pictures at their best provide us with a unique example of style heated to receive the impress of a vital and candescent personality.

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1 Giovanni di Paolo's first will is dated November 18th, 1477 (Rogito di ser Mino Franceschi in Arch., filza F. no. 148). In it he expresses his wish to be buried in the church of S. Egidio in the poggio Malavolti in which he lived. He bequeathes a house to a "donna Domenica," his serving maid, and the bulk of his property to the monastery of S. Galgano.

Three years later, on June 6th, 1480, this Domenica became his wife:

"Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo LXXX Ind. XV, die vero vi mensis Junis.

Magister Johannis Pauli pictor de Podio civis senensis dedit de bonis suis tituli donationis propter nuptias Domine Dominice sponse et ejus future uxori flor: 252" (Denunzii di Gabella di ser Giovanni Pacinelli).

On January 29th, 1482, Giovanni di Paolo made a new will: Archivio notabile di Siena nelle carte del Notaro ser Lorenzo Landi Sbraghiri (filza degli atti dal 1451 al 1482, no. 288):

"Anno domini MCCCCLXXXI. Indictione XV, die vero XXVIII Januarii.

Magister Johannes Pauli pictor, sanus Dei gratia mentis et intellectus licet corpore languens, nuncupativum testamentum quod sive scriptis de bonis suis in hunc modum disposuit, videlicet: primo, animam suam omnipotenti Deo commendavit, mandavit corpus suum sepelli in ecclesiam sancti Egidi de Senis in ejus tumulo.

Item reliquit archiepiscopo sol. quinque pro anima sua.

Item reliquit opere sante Marie de Senis sol. 5 convertendos in urte dicte ecclesie.

Item reliquit jurelegati Francisco Johannis Bertini jura que habet supra capitallibus de Monte Communis Senarum, contra dictum Comune.

Item de aliis bonis suis, mobilibus et immobilibus, juribus et actionibus, suam heredem universalem instituit dominam Dominicam ejus uxorem, et hoc valuit esse suum testamentum.

Actum conditum fuit dictum testamentum in domo habitationis dicti magistri Johannis coram dominis Benedicto ser Johannis de Cingulo, Jeronimo Andre de Scottis, Pio domini Antonii Battiste de Oralddis testibus."

2 Berenson, *Pitture Italiane del Rinascimento*, 1936, 211.

3 De Nicola, *Burlington Magazine*, 1918, xxiii, 45.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Book Covers

BICCHERNA and Gabella covers are dated but not signed. It is therefore important to segregate them from the other spheres of a Sienese artist's activity. We have to remember first of all that they are seldom so typical as to render attribution beyond dispute, and secondly that attribution is permissible only where we are willing to relate the date on the cover itself to a pre-existing chronological scheme. Careless in design, often coarse in execution, they provide at best an uncertain guide to style.

Nine covers have been ascribed to Giovanni di Paolo. Five of the attributions alone survive a serious test. The earliest in date, a biccherna cover representing *St. Jerome and the Lion* in the Archivio di Stato, Siena (No. 29), covers the year 1435-6.¹ Without any pronounced æsthetic character the setting of the scene, two walls of a pink house to the left, an arid, hilly landscape on the right, has a certain simple charm, while the handling of the seated figure of the saint is reminiscent of the three predella panels in the Siena gallery (Nos. 174-6) datable in the same period. Far more vital is a biccherna cover of the following year, 1436-7, in the Schlossmuseum, Berlin (Plate XVb).² Referred by Van Marle to Giacomo del Pisano, by Dami to Giovanni di Paolo's school and by Berenson to Sano di Pietro, it was recognised by Lisini as from the same hand as the *St. Jerome* of the preceding year. The subject, *The Triumph of Death*, was one calculated to stimulate Giovanni's imagination, and so vivid is the result that Lisini has connected it with the plague which raged in Siena throughout the second half of 1437. Inside a grey loggia with a pink tiled floor sits a group of figures playing dice; outside lie the bodies of four men above whom Death, a black figure on a black horse, a bow in

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his hand and a yellow-handled scythe at his side, rides victorious. The scene is without the supreme imaginative poise of the miniature of Death in the Lecceto codex, yet the tautness of the calligraphy, the passionate, clenched hands, convey a sense of stress which the roughness of the execution does little to diminish. The third of the series, a gabella cover of 1439-40 in the Archivio di Stato, Siena (No. 30), showing *Pietro Alessandrino enthroned between two Angels*,³ is damaged but fortunately unrestored. Its side figures are an adumbration of the angel in a gabella cover of 1445 of *The Annunciation* in the Vatican Gallery (No. 131).⁴ The type might well come from such a picture as the Kress *Annunciation*; the Vatican angel itself is naturally closely paralleled in the New York *Paradiso*, part of the Guelfi polyptych of the same year. The line of the Virgin's robe, like that of the Rocca d'Orcia or Blumenthal *Madonnas*, shows Giovanni di Paolo's gothicism at the ultimate point of its development. Finally, as the last extant example of Giovanni's work in this field we have in the Archivio di Stato a *Madonna of Mercy*, painted on the cover of a Libro Vitale of 1458.⁵ It is of interest as providing a further instance of the expansion of Giovanni's technique which we find in his predella panels at this period, and though, as an occasional piece, it is, of course, more broadly executed than a predella panel would have been, it may stand in contrast with the earlier covers as an epitome of the painter's development.

In the case of the remaining covers given to Giovanni di Paolo the connection is generally of the most tenuous kind. The prettiest of them, a *Noli Me Tangere* in the Lindenau Museum, Altenburg (No. 79),⁶ shows the figures of Christ and the Magdalen in the lower half of the panel (this is unusual) against a crowded landscape. Above is an inscription which reads: ANNUS DNI. MCCCC E PACTA CONCURRENS INDITIO. The panel is not, as Van Marle supposed, restored. It is difficult to find an explanation of the date, which is unacceptable, of the characters of the inscription, which are of a dugento type, or of the sentimentalism of the style. A gabella cover of 1444 (Archivio di Stato, no. 31)⁷ is a work of the environment of Sano di Pietro, probably

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of the master himself. No. 36, *The Coronation of Pius II*, on a biccherna cover of 1460,⁸ seems to be by the same imitator of Giovanni di Paolo as no. 32, a biccherna cover of 1448 showing *The Coronation of Nicholas V*.⁹ A more elaborate scene, *Pope Eugenius IV crowning the Emperor Sigismund*, on a biccherna cover of 1432-3 (No. 28)¹⁰ is yet poorer in quality.

APPENDIX B

Cassone Panels

WE have had occasion to mention in the text of this volume only one of the many cassone panels which have been ascribed to Giovanni di Paolo, *Three Scenes from the Story of Esther*, in part by the master and datable as we have suggested c. 1460. There is no reason to believe he did not execute others. But they have not survived. No single one of the remaining cassone panels attributed to him can be accepted as from his hand. In some cases he may have been responsible for the design and general layout; in others a student, impregnated with Giovanni's types and narrative method, may have evolved his own scheme independently. A good example of the first class is a cassone front showing *The Story of Hippo* in the Walters collection, Baltimore.¹¹ On the left are the walls of a town from which horsemen advance, in the centre a group of maidens and on the right Hippo plunging into the sea. Small castles which crown the hills behind, fruit-bearing trees, and small stones scattered by the margin of the sea are obvious reminiscences of Giovanni di Paolo's style of about 1450. But the types are no more than coarse caricatures of his.

Three small panels showing *Samson and Delilah*, *Judith and Holofernes*, and *Solomon worshipping heathen Idols*, hang in the library of the Seminario at Siena;¹² they are mounted together as one cassone front. Accepted as Giovanni di Paolo's work by Schubring and, in the earlier editions of *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, by Berenson, they were rightly rejected by Van Marle. The design of all three scenes is considerably superior to their execution. The tents in the first scene and the soldiers pouring through an open door in the second have a vigour of conception with which a number of rather clumsy

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equivalents for animation of gesture are scarcely consonant. The designing mind may conceivably have been Giovanni's, but the spacing of the scenes as well as the faintly attenuated figures seem too definitely Sassettesque for that to have been the case. Time may well confirm Douglas' suggestion that their author was a direct pupil of Sassetta.¹³ By a kindred painter are four secular scenes in the collection of Mr. Henry Harris.

On the other hand, a panel showing *Lucretia and Collatinus* in the Bayer collection, New York,¹⁴ certainly derives from a design of Giovanni di Paolo's. The architectural detail, the arches and the tiling of the floor, is such as we find constantly in his autograph works, and the narration of the tale has the almost ruthless directness of his middle period. The scene is visualised from above (Giovanni's religious work contains no example of architecture so painted), and the design in every sense is thoroughly personal. From reproduction I should judge the execution not to be by Giovanni di Paolo. Very naturally in secular scenes one is struck by naïveté of gesture to an extent which religious painting does not allow. Stylisation we expect and even forgive in the religious play ceases to be tolerable in melodrama. Giovanni di Paolo's successful pictures were motivated by religious emotionalism of a peculiar kind; he was without the veracity, the charm or the feeling for mere decoration of the born cassone painter.

A number of cassone panels have been connected with Giovanni di Paolo with less reason than those listed above. A cassone side-panel transferred to canvas, illustrating *The Rape of Europa*, in the Musée Jacquemart André in Paris (No. 1052),¹⁵ is contemporary Sienese work, as are two small cassone side-panels in the Lanckoronski collection, Vienna,¹⁶ and a fresco figure of *Artemisia*, in the Yale University Gallery, published by S. L. Faison, *Yale Bulletin*, February, 1936. A single panel of *A Woman at a Well*, formerly in the Miller von Aichholz and Castiglione collections, has no connection with Giovanni di Paolo.¹⁷ Three episodes from an unknown story, reproduced by Schubring as in the Castello Vincigliata, Florence,¹⁸ seem rightly

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described by Van Marle as Florentine. No comment need be made on the ascriptions to Giovanni di Paolo by Jacobsen and Schubring respectively of Domenico di Bartolo's *Painted Box*, now in the Schloss-museum, Berlin,¹⁹ and of the Carrand *Judgement of Paris* (Museo Nazionale, Florence, no. 16).²⁰

APPENDIX C

Works wrongly ascribed to Giovanni di Paolo

THE many miscellaneous accretions to the *œuvre* of a personality so pronounced and defined as Giovanni di Paolo's are for the most part inexcusable. Relevant attributions have been mentioned in the text of this book. Others deserve shorter shrift. The activity of Pietro di Giovanni Ambrogio has never been clearly and methodically reconstructed. At one time or another several pictures which approximate to his style have found their way into Giovanni di Paolo's *œuvre*. Among these mistaken ascriptions, some of which have since been withdrawn, may be noted those of a *St. Helena praying Ships to bring Grain*, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, no. 1097,²¹ of an *Annunciation*, in the Cà d'Oro, Venice, no. 117,²² of a *Nativity*, in the Harold I. Pratt collection, New York,²³ and of a *Madonna and Child with Angels*, in the Martin le Roy collection, Paris, no. 2.²⁴ Coarser, but also Sienese, are a predella panel showing a *Scene from the Life of a Hermit*, in the Jarves collection, New Haven,²⁵ a *Madonna and Child enthroned with two Angels, SS. John Baptist, Paul, etc.*, handled by Bottenwieser,²⁶ a *Martyrdom of a Holy Bishop*, in the Jarves collection,²⁷ a *Madonna and Child* which appeared in the Braunschweig Sale, Berlin, March 28th, 1935, and a *Visitation*, in the Robert Lehman collection.²⁸ In closer relation to Giovanni di Paolo is a group of works which may be connected tentatively with the early activity of the real Pellegrino di Mariano. Pellegrino di Mariano appears, on the basis of the Kress (Fairfax Murray) *Madonna* of 1450, to have been a direct pupil of Giovanni di Paolo. This picture is clearly earlier, not as a writer in the Thieme-Becker *Künstlerlexikon* suggests later, than the triptych at Belcaro. To the same phase of Pellegrino di Mariano's activity may be

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attributed with some degree of certainty a *Coronation of the Virgin*, in the Cà d'Oro, Venice.²⁹ More tentatively we may group round the Kress *Madonna* a *Madonna and Child enthroned in a Landscape*, in the possession of Messrs. Knoedler,³⁰ and a *Crucifixion with the Virgin, SS. John Baptist and Evangelist Mary Magdalen, Jerome, Ansanus and Francis*, in the Walters Gallery, Baltimore,³¹ A *St. John Baptist*, in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge,³² does not seem to me to be by Giovanni di Paolo. Yet other pictures have been attributed to Giovanni di Paolo, which cannot by any stretch of imagination be considered Sienese, among them *A Pope crowning a Bishop*, in the Musée Vivienel, Compiègne, no. 3660,³³ *Two Scenes from the Life of a Franciscan Saint*, in the gallery at Pesaro,³⁴ a *Crucifixion*, formerly in the Sterbini collection, no. 21,³⁵ and a *Crucifixion* from the Schwarz collection, Vienna.³⁶ With a *Crucifixion* in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow, published by Gerevitch, *A Krakoi Czartorysczi-Képtár*, Budapest, 1918, listed by Van Marle, ix, 590n., as wrongly ascribed to Giovanni di Paolo, I am unfamiliar.

APPENDIX D

Romagnoli's biography of Giovanni di Paolo

FOR the student of the Sienese quattrocento Romagnoli's *Bel-l'artisti Senesi*, MS. Bibl. Com. Sen., L. ii 4 must remain a vital and primary source. His notes on Giovanni di Paolo are contained in vol. iv., pp. 313 seq. Frequent references have been made to them in the text and notes of this volume. But quotation has been confined to sentences which have a direct bearing on Giovanni di Paolo's work as an artist. It is for reasons of space impossible to print Romagnoli's biography entire in this appendix. Nor would it be desirable to do so. His method was comprehensive and uncritical and three-quarters of the facts he purports to record on each Sienese painter are in consequence the merest fiction. The single statement for which Van Marle relied on Romagnoli, that in 1423 Giovanni di Paolo received payment for a biccherna cover, is unsupported by fact or probability. Romagnoli himself believed that Giovanni di Paolo's father was a Paolo di Neri active in 1342, and that he married four times, the children of his first marriage being Matteo di Giovanni and Benvenuto di Giovanni. The aptest comment on his work is that written in the margin of the original manuscript by Gaetano Milanesi: "Cautele come vedesi nelle memorie presenti non sono stato mai bastanti a separare quel che appartiene a uno artista da quel che riguardo un altro dallo stesso nome."

Nevertheless I append a list of the factual statements to which Romagnoli commits himself and the sources he cites for them. With the assistance of Cav. Uff. Alfredo Liberati I have attempted in a reasonably exhaustive sense to check each reference; in no case has it proved possible to confirm Romagnoli's assertions:

1423 December 13th, payment of L. 4 for a biccherna cover,

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- recorded Fol. 57, vol. 296 dell'Entrata e Uscita dei Camarlinghi della Biccherna, classe B alle Riformagioni.
- 1425 Contratto nell'Archivio delle Gabelle, vendita a Giovanni di Matteo fior. 16 v. denuncia fatta da Sano di Guido nell'anno 1425 a carte 8, e quella di f. Giovanni Pecci a carte 8 (anno 1425: stesso) Mo. Giovanni di Paolo vende per fior. 30 a Merino di Michele.
- 1433 Mo. Giovanni di Paolo sposò con dote di fior. 200 Madonna Gabriella e rogò l'istrumento f. Bartolommeo di Francesco. Archivio di Contratti a carte 34 di quel Ducale.
- 1442 Il libro conticorrenti no. 33 dell'Archivio dello Spedale nomina costui. This reference is apparently correct and identical with that transcribed above, p. 48. But it is typical of Romagnoli's happy-go-lucky methods that what he cites as volume no. 33 is in fact c. 33 of vol. 567.
- 1453 Il Ducale del 1453 (f. Giovanni Benedetti) a carte 26 accenna che Giovanni compra da Madonna Tommasa d'Antonio per fior. 30.
- 1458 Il Libro dell'Archivio dello Spedale detto il "Monello della Grancia di Cuna" nota che nel 1458 nell'occasione che il Pontefice Pio II alloggiò in Cuna con quattro cardinali il 23 febbraio 1458 Mo. Agostino di Marsilio Bolognese e Giovanni da Siena dipentori dipinsero quella camera dove sbiede il Papa, restaurarono il Crocefisso e dipinsero la Sala Nuova.
- 1459 Il Ducale del 1459 a carte 14 (f. Ranieri Biringucci) shows Giovanni di Paolo married a third time to Madonna Elisabetta dalla quale ebbe fior. 180 di dote.
- 1460 Il Ducale del 1460 (f. Guasparre d'Antonio) a carte 37 accenna che Giovanni compra da Antonio di Neri Martini per fior. 5.
- 1461 Denuncia del 1461 di. f. Mino di Niccolò Trecerchi; da Adamo di Mo. Guglielmo Lombardo per fior. 170
- 1463 Il Ducale del 1463 (f. Matteo d'Antonio) a carte 43 (accenna che) Giovanni vende a f. Giov. d'Orsino per fior. 160.

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- 1477 Denunzia di f. Bernardino di Pietro Politi a carte 68: Giovanni compra per fior. 18 dal "Chomune di Monte Follonicho."
- 1478 In quella (denunzia) del 1478 di f. Galgano di Petrarco a carte 23 comprasi per fior. 40 da Mo. Pietro di Domenico.

NOTES TO APPENDICES

- 1 Dimensions: 44 × 32 cm. Lisini, *Tavolette dipinte della Biccherna*, 1891, pl. XXVIII, as school of Giovanni di Paolo. Olcott, *Guide*, 1903, 292, as "evidently influenced by Sassetta." Berenson, op. cit., and Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 400, as Giovanni di Paolo.
- 2 Dimensions: 43 × 28 cm. Lisini, op. cit., pl. XXIX, as by the author of the *St. Jerome*. Dami, *Dedalo*, iv, 303. Wrongly described in the catalogue of the Ramboux collection as dated 1426. Ellon, *Tavolette Dipinte della Biccherna di Siena che si conservano nel Museo di Berlino*, Boll. Sen. di Storia Patria, 1895, fasc. I-II, gives an elaborate description of the cover and an iconographical analysis.
- 3 Dimensions: 40 × 27 cm. Lisini, op. cit., pl. XXX, as "attribuita al maestro Giovanni di Paolo."
- 4 Dimensions: 43.5 × 33.5 cm. Coll.: Abate Galgano Bichi, Marchese Buonaventura d'Ansano Chigi Zondadari. Lisini, op. cit., pl. XXXII. Geoffroy, *Mélanges d'Archéol. et d'Hist. Franç.*, 1883, 403-4. Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 418, as a biccherna cover.
- 5 Berenson, op. cit.
- 6 Dimensions: 40 × 29 cm.
- 7 *St. Michael and the Dragon*. Dimensions: 42 × 28 cm. Van Marle, ix, 416, as Giovanni di Paolo. Lisini, op. cit., pl. XXXI.
- 8 Dimensions: 58 × 40 cm. Lisini, op. cit., pl. XXXVII. Labelled as "Maniera di Giovanni di Paolo."
- 9 Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 461n., as Giacomo del Pisano. Lisini, op. cit., pl. XXXIII.
- 10 Dimensions: 44 × 32 cm. Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 214, as Giovanni di Paolo.
- 11 No. 1029. Dimensions: 0.42 × 1.30 m. Coll.: Cernuschi, Udine, Simonetti. Perkins, *Rass. d'Arte Sen.*, 1907, 83, and *Rass. d'Arte*, 1913, 123, as Giovanni di Paolo. Schubring, *Cassoni*, 133, 325, no. 451, gives the literary sources as Boccaccio, *De Claris Mulieribus*, c. 51, and Valerius Maximus, vi, *Externa*, I. Wrongly described by Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 211, as *The Story of Camilla*. King, *Art Bulletin*, June, 1936, 236-7, gives the picture

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to Giovanni di Paolo's school. The hand seems to me to be that of the assistant responsible for much of the Esther scenes, the Kröller *Adoration*, and the Heek *Madonna*.

- 12 Dimensions: 0.45 × 1.27 m. Schubring, op. cit., 132, 223, pl. CI.
- 13 L. Douglas, *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 1904, November, 763, gives the pictures to the Master of the Mignanelli *Madonna*. For the Harris *Story of Hercules* v. Borenius, *Apollo*, iii, 133.
- 14 Dimensions: 12 × 17½ in. Coll.: Nemes, Munich. Sirén, *Burlington Magazine*, xlv, 281, A. Venturi, *Studi dal Vero*, 1927, 83-4, Valentiner, *Pantheon*, 1933, 240, all as Giovanni di Paolo.
- 15 Dimensions: 42 × 42 cm. Coll.: Palazzo Capponi, Florence. Schubring, op. cit., 325, gives the source as Ovid, *Met.*, ii, 850 seq.
- 16 Schubring's reference, op. cit., 325, is confused.
- 17 Castiglione sale, Müller, 1925, as Florentine School. With Hoogendijk, Amsterdam, 1932.
- 18 Schubring, op. cit., 322, pl. CI.
- 19 Schubring, op. cit., 326.
- 20 Diameter: 70 cm. Jacobsen, *Das Quattrocento in Siena*, 49. Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 211, as Giovanni di Paolo.
- 21 Berenson, op. cit., earlier editions, as Giovanni di Paolo. Corrected Longhi, *Pinacoteca*, 1928-9, 38. An authentic work by Pietro di Giovanni.
- 22 Dono Franchetti, no. 117. Moschini, *Catalogo delle Opere d'Arte della Cà d'Oro*, 1929, 135.
- 23 Tentative ascription of Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 212. By an unknown pupil of Sassetta.
- 24 Martin le Roy catalogue as Giovanni di Paolo. Berenson at first as Sassetta and later as Pietro di Giovanni. See Fry, *Burlington Magazine*, 1910, xvii, 126.
- 25 Van Marle, op. cit., ix, 460.
- 26 Dimensions: 54 × 23.5 cm. I know the picture only from a photograph in the Witt Library.
- 27 No. 275. Listed by Van Marle, following Berenson, op. cit., 1909.

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- 28 Dimensions: $6\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in. Chiesa Sale, American Art Galleries, New York, 1927, no. 74, as Giovanni di Paolo.
- 29 Dono Franchetti, no. 66. Dimensions: 0.49×0.36 m. Moschini, op. cit., as Sienese School. Van Marle, ix, 385, as Pietro di Giovanni (?).
- 30 Dimensions: $21 \times 11\frac{1}{4}$ in. Coll.: Professor Lothmar, Berne. Ex. Knoedler, Paris, 1931, no. 4, New York, 1933, no. 23, both as Giovanni di Paolo.
- 31 No. 727. Dimensions: 0.546×0.387 m. Attributed to Giovanni di Paolo by Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 211. Coll.: Massarenti, Rome. *Catalogue du Musée de Peinture . . . au Palais Accoramboni*, prem. partie, Rome, 1897, no. 75, as school of Fra Angelico.
- 32 No. 23. Attributed by Perkins to Giovanni di Paolo's last period, v. *Fogg Art Museum, Collection of Mediæval and Renaissance Paintings*, 1919, 121-3.
- 33 Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 211, followed by Van Marle. The panel seems Pisan.
- 34 Van Marle, ix, 446. The panels are clearly Marchigian.
- 35 A. Venturi, *Arch. Stor. del Arte*, viii, 432.
- 36 Schwarz Sale, Lepke, Berlin, 1910, no. 19 (repr.).

■

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ALTENBURG: Lindenau Museum:

- 76. *Madonna and Child.*
- 77. *The Crucifixion.*
- 78. *The Crucifixion, 1426.*

ASCIANO: Collegiata:

The Assumption of the Virgin.

ASSISI: Coll. F. M. Perkins:

- St. James.*
- St. Bernardino.*

BAGNOREA (Viterbo) (formerly):

SS. Clare and Scholastica with Donors, 1457 (?).

BALTIMORE: Walters Gallery:

- 489. *The Resurrection of Lazarus, 1426.*
- The Way to Golgotha, 1426.*
- The Deposition, 1426.*
- The Entombment, 1426.*
- The Story of Hippo (in collaboration).*

BASCHI (Orvieto): Propositura:

Madonna and Child with SS. James and Nicholas of Bari.

BASEL: Coll. Baron R. von Hirsch:

Madonna and Child, 1427.

BERLIN: Kaiser Friedrich Museum:

- 1112b. *Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John.*
- 1112c. *The Crucifixion.*

Schlossmuseum:

Biccherna cover, 1436-7: *Death and the Dice Players.*
St. Jerome appearing to St. Augustine.

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BESANÇON: Musée:

203. *St. Augustine enthroned.*

BOSTON: Museum of Fine Arts:

Madonna and Child in a Landscape.

Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum:

Christ among the Doctors.

BRUSSELS: Coll. Adolphe Stoclet:

Madonna and Child in a Landscape (fragmentary).

Six Scenes from the Life of St. Catherine of Siena.

BUDAPEST: Szépművészeti múzeum:

49. *St. Matthew.*

CAMBRIDGE: Fitzwilliam Museum:

St. Bartholomew.

CAMBRIDGE (U.S.A.): Fogg Museum:

85. *St. Catherine of Siena.*

CASTELNUOVO BERARDENGA (prov. di Siena): Propositura:

Madonna and Child with ten Angels, 1426.

CASTIGLIONE FIORENTINO (Val di Chiana): Municipio:

Madonna and Child, 1457.

St. Catherine of Alexandria, 1457.

CHANTILLY: Musée Condé:

9. *Five Angels* (fragmentary).

CHERBOURG: Musée:

166. *Madonna adoring the Child with SS. Galganus and Ansanus.*

CHICAGO: Art Institute (Ryerson bequest):

Six Scenes from the Life of St. John Baptist.

CHIUSURI (prov. di Siena): Canonica di S. Michele:

St. Bernardino.

COLLE DI VAL D'ELSA: Conservatorio di S. Pietro:

The Presentation in the Temple.

COLOGNE: Wallraf-Richartz Museum:

St. John Evangelist.

Rheinisches Museum:

The Entombment of the Virgin and two Saints.

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ESZTERGOM: Gallery of the Prince Primate of Hungary:

Virgin adoring the Child with St. Joseph.

St. Ansanus baptising the Sienese.

FLORENCE: Uffizi:

3255. *Madonna and Child with SS. Dominic, Peter, Paul and Thomas Aquinas, 1445.*

Bargello (Carrand Bequest):

6. *The Decapitation of St. Ansanus.*

Coll. B. Berenson:

Madonna and Child.

Coll. E. Saulmann:

St. Sebastian.

Volterra (formerly):

Madonna and Child with Saints.

FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN: Coll. H. Fuld:

The Investiture of St. Clare.

St. Clare saving a Ship in Distress.

GROSSE POINT FARMS (Michigan): Coll. Mrs. Lilian Henkel Haas:

Madonna and Child.

THE HAGUE: Coll. Kröller-Müller:

467. *The Adoration of the Magi* (in collaboration).

ISTIA D'OMBRONE (Maremma): S. Salvatore:

Madonna and Child.

LONDON: National Gallery:

3402. *SS. Fabian and Sebastian with two Donors.*

611. Coll. Lord Bearsted: *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.*

Coll. K. M. Clark:

St. John Baptist (illumination).

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Coll. Henry Harris:

St. John Baptist.

Coll. Baroness René de Kerchove:

Madonna and Child with two Angels before a Rose-Hedge.

Coll. J. Pierpont Morgan:

Four Scenes from the Life of St. John Baptist.

G. Arnot:

Three Scenes from the Story of Esther (in collaboration).

MILAN: Coll. Chiesa (formerly):

Virgin crowned by an Angel (fragmentary).

MINNEAPOLIS: Institute of Arts (Vanderlip Bequest):

The Death of St. Catherine of Siena.

MODENA: Pinacoteca Estense:

18. *The Nativity.*

MONTENERO (prov. di Siena):

Madonna and Child with two Angels.

MONTEPULCIANO: S. Agostino:

St. Nicholas of Tolentino, 1456.

MÜNSTER-IN-WESTPHALEN: Landesmuseum:

355. *The Birth of St. John Baptist.*

356. *St. John Baptist before Herod.*

NEW HAVEN: Yale University (Jarves Bequest):

59. *St. Clare blessing the three Loaves.*

NEW JERSEY: Coll. D. F. Platt:

Madonna and Child.

Madonna and Child with SS. Margaret and Catherine of Alexandria.

NEW YORK: Metropolitan Museum:

G. 434-1. *SS. Matthew and Francis*, 1436.

G. 434-2. *Paradise*, 1445.

Metropolitan Museum (Friedsam Bequest):

Madonna and Child with four Saints, 1454.

The Communion of St. Catherine of Siena.

SS. Dorothy, Agatha, Barbara and Catherine of Alexandria.

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Coll. George Blumenthal:

Madonna and Child with two Angels and a Donor.
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Coll. Miss Helen Frick:

The Nativity.

Coll. Maitland Griggs:

Madonna and Child with SS. Bartholomew and Jerome.

Coll. Ickelheymer:

St. Fabian.

Coll. S. H. Kress:

Madonna and Child with two Angels.

Madonna and Child with SS. Jerome and Augustine.

Madonna and Child with two Angels before a Rose-Hedge.

The Expulsion of Adam and Eve and the Annunciation.

St. Luke.

Coll. Philip Lehman:

The Coronation of the Virgin.

Madonna and Child with SS. Agnes and Jerome.

The Creation of the World, 1445.

The Raising of Tabitha.

An Angel announces to Zacharias the Birth of a Son.

Christ resuscitating the Mother of St. Catherine of Siena.

Coll. Robert Lehman:

St. Nicholas of Tolentino.

B.B. Pier Pettinagno and Ambrogio Sansedoni.

Coll. Arthur Sachs:

St. Ambrose.

Coll. P. S. Straus:

A Miracle of St. Clare.

Coll. Grenville Winthrop:

The Nativity.

OXFORD: Ashmolean Museum:

332. *The Baptism of Christ.*

Christ Church:

73. *The Crucifixion.*

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PALERMO: Coll. Chiaramonte Bordonaro:

70. *Christ and the four Evangelists.*

PARIS: Louvre:

1659a. *St. Gregory the Great stays the Plague at Castel Sant' Angelo.*

Coll. Martin le Roy:

The Martyrdom of St. John Evangelist.

P. Bottenwieser:

The Assumption of the Virgin with two Saints.

D. Kelekian:

SS. Ursula and John Baptist.

PARMA: R. Pinacoteca:

423. *Christ and Saints.*

PHILADELPHIA: J. G. Johnson Art Gallery:

105. *The Way to Golgotha.*

A Miracle of St. Nicholas of Tolentino.

PIENZA: Duomo:

Madonna and Child with four Saints, 1463.

POGGIOFERRO (Maremma): Chiesa Parrocchiale:

Madonna and Child with four Angels.

ROCCA D'ORCIA (prov. di Siena): S. Simeone:

Madonna and Child.

ROME: Pinacoteca Vaticana:

124. *The Deposition.*

126. *Two Evangelists.*

127. *Two Evangelists.*

129. *The Agony in the Garden.*

130. *St. Anthony taking the Franciscan Habit.*

131. Gabella cover of 1445: *The Annunciation.*

132. *The Nativity.*

Palazzo Doria:

132. *The Nativity of the Virgin.*

134. *The Marriage of the Virgin.*

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Palazzo Chigi:

The Levitation of St. Anthony.

The Care of St. Anthony for the Poor.

Private Collection (?):

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Marquis de Talleyrand (formerly):

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SANSEVERINO: Coll. Servanzi-Collio (?):

The Assumption of the Virgin.

SIENA: R. Pinacoteca:

172. *The Last Judgement, Paradise and Hell.*

173. SS. Nicholas of Bari enthroned between SS. Bernardino, Francis, Clare and Louis, 1453.

174. *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.*

175. *The Crucifixion.*

176. *The Flight into Egypt.*

178. *Madonna and Child with SS. Augustine, Nicholas of Bari, Lucy and Catherine of Alexandria.*

179. *Madonna and Child with two Angels and SS. Ansanus and Catherine of Alexandria.*

180. *St. Jerome.*

190, 192. *Two Pilasters.*

191. *Madonna and Child with SS. Peter Damian, Thomas, Clare and Ursula.*

193. *St. John Baptist, 1426.*

195. *St. Mark.*

197. *St. Dominic, 1426.*

198. Predella: *St. Benedict promulgating his Rule, The Communion of the Magdalen, The Virgin and the Apostles, The Death of the Virgin, The Foundation of the Abbey of S. Galgano, The Vision of St. Bernard.*

199. *SS. Mary Magdalen and Galganus.*

200. *The Crucifixion, 1440.*

201. *SS. Benedict and Bernard.*

206. *Madonna and Child in a Landscape.*

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208. *Christ in Benediction.*

211. *The Presentation in the Temple, 1447-8.*

212. *Christ suffering and Christ triumphant.*

213. *St. James.*

214. *St. Nicholas of Bari.*

215. *St. Andrew.*

324. *The Assumption with SS. John Baptist, Bernardino, George and Gregory, 1475.*

575. *Maestà.*

Museo dell'Opera del Duomo:

18. *St. Jerome.*

The Crucifixion.

60. *The Apparition of St. Francis to St. Anthony.*

Archivio di Stato:

29. Biccherna cover of 1435-6: *St. Jerome and the Lion.*

30. Gabella cover of 1439-40: *Pietro Alessandrino enthroned between two Angels.*

Libro Vitale of 1458: *Madonna of Mercy.*

Biblioteca Comunale:

H : i : 2. Three Miniatures in Gradual.

G : i : 8. Miniatures in Antiphonal.

Palazzo Pubblico:

Wolf and Forest (fresco).

S. Andrea:

The Coronation of the Virgin with SS. Andrew and Peter, 1445.

S. Catarina della Notte:

St. John Baptist (fresco).

S. Domenico:

Bd. Catherine dei Lenzi.

S. Leonardo al Lago (near Siena):

The Crucifixion (fresco).

S. Maria dei Servi:

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S. Pietro in Ovile:

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S. Stefano alla Lizza:

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Via delle Terme: Tabernacle:

Madonna and Child (fragmentary), 1436.

SWITZERLAND: Private Collection:

Madonna and Child in a Landscape with two Angels.

TOURS: Château de Villandry, Coll. Mme. Carvallo:

St. John Baptist preaching.

TREQUANDA (prov. di Siena): Propositura:

Madonna and Child with SS. Bernardino, Fabian and Sebastian (in collaboration).

UTRECHT: Central Museum:

16a. *The Crucifixion.*

VIENNA: Akademie:

A Miracle of St. Nicholas of Tolentino.

Coll. Oscar Bondy:

The Adoration of the Magi.

Coll. Graf A. Lanckoronski:

Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John.

Coll. A. Lederer:

Head of an Angel.

WASHINGTON (D.C.): A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust:

The Adoration of the Magi.

NOTES TO LIST OF PICTURES

I I have confined this list to autograph pictures. While I have taken pains to make it as comprehensive and as accurate as possible, I claim neither that it is complete nor that it is infallible. The topographical indications are in several cases tentative. With two exceptions all these pictures are referred to in the body of the text and detailed information on size and provenance where available will be found in the appropriate footnotes. The following are pictures which I have been unable to identify or to examine:

ABBADIA D'OMBRONE:

Madonna and Child between SS. James and Christopher. Brogi (*Inventario*, 1897, p. 84) describes the Virgin as in half-length (dimensions: 0.64 × 0.44 m.) and attributes all three panels to the manner of Giovanni di Paolo.

MONTEPULCIANO: Ven. Compagnia degli Artisti (Sacristy):

Virgin Annunciate mentioned by Brogi, op. cit., 305. Dimensions: 1.06 × 0.42 m.

Annunciatory Angel recorded by Brogi, loc. cit. Dimensions: 1.06 × 0.42 m.

Baptism of Christ recorded by Brogi, loc. cit. Dimensions: 0.29 × 0.36 m.

Crucifixion. Brogi, loc. cit., gives the following description: "Ai lati della Croce stanno due Giudei a cavallo, a sinistra vi è la Vergine svenuta, retta dalle Marie, e appresso S. Giovanni, a destra vi sono tre altre figure. Fondeggiata in oro." Dimensions: 0.29 × 0.54 m.

PARIS: Coll. Mme. Henri Heugel:

Diptych: Christ on the Cross between SS. John and Mary Magdalen: a Saint in Adoration. Listed by Berenson, op. cit., 1936, 212, as "reliquario." M. Jacques Heugel kindly sends me the following specifications. Dimensions: 0.69 × 0.30 m. Coll.: Miller von Aichholz, Vienna. Gold ground. Glass medallions. "Le cadre s'élève en forme de flèche de cathédrale, décoré de peintures des deux côtés représentant des bustes de saints."

STOCKHOLM: Coll. Caspar Tamm:

Madonna and Child. Published by Sirén, *Tidskrift f. Konstvetenskap*, iv, 1919, 14 (reference given wrongly by Van Marle as *Burlington Magazine*, 1925, xlv). Sirén describes the picture as a small *Madonna* in a Gothic tabernacle.

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STUDY of Giovanni di Paolo has been confined for the most part to the present century. Since the publication of the bibliography of Gengaro (*La Diana*, 1932, 8-33), little has been written on the master. The present bibliography aims primarily at listing publications which make specific mention of Giovanni di Paolo or of works at one time or another ascribed to him. It omits references to manuscript sources, to the general literature of the quattrocento, to reviews of the Mostra Senese of 1904 (for a list of which see Mazzi, *Pubblicazioni recenti d'Argomento Senese*, Boll. Sen. di Storia Patria, 1910, fasc. i-ii), to sale catalogues and to the catalogues of public or private collections. With few exceptions, mention is made of publications in the notes to the text.

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